MIŠNAIC HEBREW

AND ITS RELATION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW AND TO ARAMAIC

A GRAMMATICAL STUDY

BY THE

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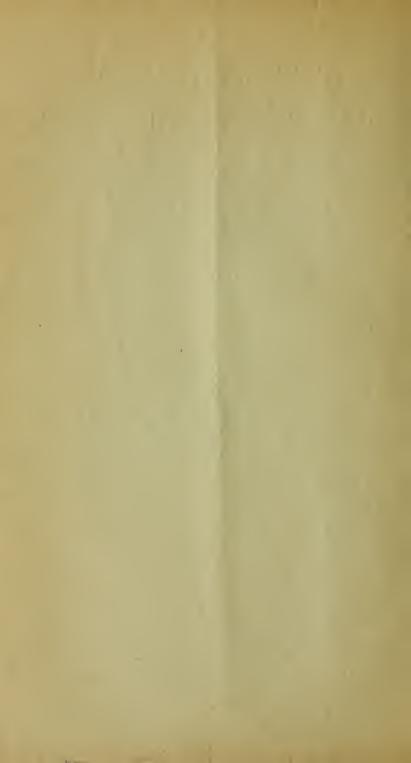SENIOR KENNICOTT SCHOLAR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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With the Compliments

Of the Author.

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By Mišnaic Hebrew (MH.) we understand the idiom in which was composed the Halakic and Haggadic literature of the Jews from *c.* 200 B.C. to 200 A.C., i.e. from Simon the Just down to the first generation of the Amoraim. This literature comprises first and foremost the *Mišna* (edited in its present form *c.* 150 A.C.), and its companions the *Tosefta, Aboth d'R. Nathan* and the *Masektoth Ketanoth*; the *Midrašim*: *Mekilta, Sifra, Sifré* and *Seder 'Olam*; further, the Hebrew portions of the *Gemaroth* and of the exclusively Haggadic *Midrašim*, and a number of minor works which, though very late in their present forms, contain nevertheless elements which go back to the Mišnaic period. The term Mišna (משנה), used in this connexion, must be understood in that wider sense which includes all the earlier Rabbinic literature as distinguished from the Scriptures (מקרא) [1]. This name Mišnaic Hebrew is preferable to the term New Hebrew (*Neuhebräisch*) by which the idiom is commonly known. It has the merit of being free from any ambiguity. The latter is appropriate enough in relation to Biblical Hebrew (BH.), but it either ignores

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[1] Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, p. 34 and n. 2, pp. 122 f., 194.

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the later phases through which, after the Talmudic period, the Hebrew language passed, or confuses them [1] with that particular stage of its development with which we are now concerned.

Paitanic Hebrew [2], mediaeval Hebrew of the Hispano-Arabic school, and Modern Hebrew (beginning with R. Moses Haim Luzzatto, 1710–50) [3] may have little or no value to the philological student as such [4], but they are certainly not without their linguistic interest. In any case the existence of these idioms is a fact. To ignore them in studying the history of the Hebrew language would be unscientific. It is therefore important that every one of the varied idioms of the language at whatever period it appeared should be distinguished by an appropriate and precise designation.

The grammatical treatment of MH. has been scanty and fragmentary. The first pioneer work was Geiger's little *Lehrbuch*, which, in spite of many serious defects, still remains the best work on the subject. Unfortunately it does not go far enough. Leopold Dukes' book *Die Sprache der Mischna* (Esslingen, 1846) is of little value. Far better is Weiss's learned and suggestive work, משפט לשון המישנה (Vienna, 1867). But Weiss, eminent though he was as a Talmudist, was not a trained philologist or grammarian, and hence his judgment was not always what it should be, especially where he applied Rabbinical dialectics to the elucidation of questions of etymology. The arrangement of the work and its technical language are also crude and primitive. More methodical and fuller in the grammatical side is Siegfried and Strack's *NH. Grammatik*. But their work is vitiated by the admission of many Talmudic and even mediaeval forms, by the failure of the authors to distinguish between MH. and Aramaic or semi-Aramaic

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[1] As is done by Siegfried and Strack in their *Grammatik*.
[2] Cf. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie d. Mittelalters*, pp. 117 ff., 372 ff.
[3] N. Slouschz, *La renaissance de la littérature hébraïque*, Paris, 1903.
[4] Nöldeke, *Encyc. Brit.⁹*, vol. XXI, p. 646.

forms and phrases, and by a number of other inaccuracies.
Useful material has also been collected by S. Stein in his
dissertation *Das Verbum in der Mischnasprache* (Berlin,
1888) and by F. Hillel in *Nominalbildung in der Mischna*
(Berlin, 1891). Scattered notices of MH. forms are also
found in Barth's *Nominalbildung*.

On the lexical side, too, much still remains to be done.
The elucidation and derivation of words have indeed been
performed worthily and with adequacy in the well-known
lexicons, notable among which are : Kohut's prolix but
monumental edition of R. Nathan's *Aruch*, Jacob Levy's
great and useful *NH. Wörterbuch*, and the more recent
" Dictionary " by Marcus Jastrow [1] (the only work on the
subject in the English language). But no systematic
attempt has yet been made to distinguish the Hebraic
elements in the vocabulary of MH. from the Aramaic, and
to trace their history and development both in form and
meaning.

As to the nature of MH. and its connexion with BH.
on the one side and with Aramaic on the other, great
diversity of opinion prevails among scholars. Geiger [2]
regards it as a purely artificial and mechanical creation
of the Schoolmen, comparing it to the Latin of the Middle
Ages. He goes so far as to trace some of its forms to false
exegesis [3]. Siegfried and Strack hold the same view (p. 5),
though they frequently point out the connexion of MH.
forms with the corresponding forms in BH. Lector M.
Friedmann holds that MH. is nothing but a Hebraized

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[1] The services of this scholar to Semitic philology have not yet
received the recognition which they richly deserve. For though many
of his etymologies may be fanciful and far-fetched, he has nevertheless
succeeded in restoring to the Semitic vocabulary a large number of words
hitherto held to be of foreign derivation, and, in the case of many
others, in at least reopening the question of their etymology for further
discussion.

[2] So already Salomon Levysohn in his introductory essay מאמר על דקדוק
לשון המישנה, printed in the Warsaw edition of the Mišna (1879).

[3] Cf. his explanation of לא כי, of אשׁׁה, of כור, p. 24.

Aramaic. According to his theory, MH. was, so to say, manufactured by the Rabbis after the fall of Bar Kokba, who for national and religious reasons had become hostile to Aramaic, now completely christianized; and in order to spread this new-fangled dialect among the people they had composed [1] in it Midrašic commentaries on the Bible, tales, legends, &c., thus creating the Rabbinic literature through which MH. gained currency among the mass of Jews (*Onkelos und Akylas*, Wien, 1896, p. 86 ff.). With this G. Dalman agrees, at least as far as the character of the idiom is concerned (*Gram. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1905, p. 10, § 6).

Geiger's view is stoutly contested by Graetz (*Litteratur-blatt d. Orients*, 1844, col. 824 ff.). He asserts that MH. was a living language spoken by the Jews in Hasmonean times, and that it was, moreover, the natural and direct development of BH. This, practically, is also the opinion of S. D. Luzzato (ibid., 1846, col. 830 ff.) and of Jacob Levy who regards MH. as a popular and corrupted form of BH. (ibid., 1844, col. 812) [2]. The genuine character of MH. has been defended more recently by M. Israel Lévi, who adduces the wealth of MH. words and expressions connected with secular occupations and with matters of general daily life as evidence of its having been the ordinary language of everyday life (*Ecclésiastique*, Introd., p. xxii). So also M. Grünbaum (*Z. D. M. G.*, XXXIX, p. 592 f., and *Sem. Studies in Memory of Kohut*, p. 232 f.), Dr. Wijnkoop (*J. Q. R.*, XV, p. 23 ff.), and Prof. W. Bacher in his article 'Hebrew Language' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

Nöldeke seems to occupy an intermediate position. He holds that MH. was a genuine survival of classical Hebrew which, however, was preserved only artificially by the schoolmen, whose ordinary and natural language was Aramaic (l. c., and *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed.,

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[1] To be precise, one would have to add "and translated," as a great part of this literature originated much earlier than that age.

[2] Cf. also Maimonides to *Terumoth*, I, 1.

p. 21 f.). He is followed by Brockelmann in his new *Comparative Grammar*, p. 9 f.

On the other hand, Weiss (p. 2) grants that MH. was used as a medium of speech by the ordinary people, but nevertheless treats it almost throughout his book as an artificial scholastic idiom.

In order to facilitate its solution it will be useful to state the problem more fully, and to indicate the real questions at issue. On perusing any ordinary chapter of the Mišna the reader is at once struck by many peculiarities in vocabulary, grammar, style and diction. He will meet with a large number of words which are unknown in BH. but common in Aramaic. Again, a number of words which occur both in BH. and in Aram., but are used in the latter in a different sense, will be found in MH. in the Aram. sense. Many genuine BH. words are used in MH. in an entirely new connotation. The reader will also meet with a large number of technical words and phrases which are quite unknown in BH. Then as to grammar, he will find forms which in BH. occur but sporadically, and are therefore termed by grammarians "irregular," constituting in MH. the usual and normal type, and again forms and constructions which are entirely novel and without parallel in BH. but are common in Aramaic. The diction will appear as unlike ordinary Hebrew style as can be. Many familiar idioms and constructions, without which good Hebrew prose is inconceivable, are here entirely absent, while at every step the reader stumbles upon usages, phrases, and turns of speech which strike him as strange and almost barbarous. And yet he feels all the time that he is reading Hebrew and not Aramaic; that though the influence of the latter is perceptible at every step, it is yet not the predominant factor, but is, on the contrary, everywhere subjected to the Hebrew and made to accommodate itself to it and to subserve it.

Now is this idiom a genuine and natural Hebrew speech only coloured and disfigured by Aram. influence, or is it

merely a mechanical and artificial mongrel production of
Hebrew and Aram. combined, in which Aram., though the
natural and life-giving element, has been forcibly and
mechanically subordinated to the artificial and lifeless
Hebrew element? Would Hebrew, if left alone, have
developed grammatically and syntactically on much the
same lines as our MH. shows, and has the overpowering
influence of Aram. merely intensified and hastened that
development and in some cases directed it into certain
channels; or would the development of Hebrew, if un-
checked, never have been capable of proceeding on such
lines as to produce something similar to MH., the latter
therefore being not a genuine product of BH. but an
artificial creation consisting of a clumsy intermixture of
dead Hebrew with the living Aram., which is neither the
one nor the other? It is evident that these questions
cannot be settled satisfactorily and scientifically except by
a thoroughgoing study of the grammatical phenomena
presented by MH., and by a comparison of these phenomena
with the corresponding forms and constructions in BH.,
especially those of a later period, and also with those
of Semitic languages other than Aramaic.   It is only
by such a method that we can ascertain whether the
linguistic phenomena of MH. are natural to it or merely
artificial ; whether those peculiarities which it shares with
Aram. are its own or merely borrowed from its more
powerful rival. For the dissimilarity in style, however
striking, between MH. and BH. cannot be adduced as
evidence against the genuine Hebraic character of the
Mišnaic idiom, any more than the parallel dissimilarity
existing between Old English, for example, and Modern
English can be adduced against the claim of the latter to
be the direct lineal descendant of the former; especially if
we consider the profound and far-reaching differences in the
surroundings and historical circumstances of the Jews of
the Mišnaic period and those of Biblical times.   Some part
of this dissimilarity must also be ascribed to the general

differences in the character of the subjects treated of in the Bible and in the Mišna respectively. Nor should too much importance be attached to the differences in vocabulary between MH. and BH. Words, too, are subject to the inexorable laws which govern the existence of all organic beings. They, too, become old, often prematurely, and die without leaving any issue. They, too, are compelled to carry on an incessant struggle for existence in which the weaker go to the wall, and often disappear entirely without leaving any trace behind them. Moreover, new circumstances produce new needs and new ideas, and to express them new words and new phrases have to be created or borrowed. Owing to these causes, a more or less rapid change of vocabulary goes on continually in every living language. Such changes have taken place within BH. itself and would have continued on a more extensive scale in post-Biblical times, even without the dominating influence of Aramaic.

But while individual words and phrases can be freely laid aside, borrowed or exchanged, grammatical forms and rules are not so easily and so freely manipulated. True, they, too, are subject to change, but the change must be natural, gradual, and imperceptible. For grammar is, as it were, the soul of the language, and by violently surrendering its grammar, the language would at the same time be giving up its very life and committing its own destruction. Change in grammar is usually a very slow and laborious process. The germ of the new form must have existed in the language long before the new form made its appearance. When it does appear, it remains for a time quiet and unobtrusive, and slowly and gradually works its way until it acquires a permanent place in the government of the language, existing for a long time side by side with the old form which it is eventually to supplant. And when the latter is compelled at last to acknowledge itself conquered, it does not yet yield up its position entirely, but continues to exercise some kind of power,

however feeble and subordinate, until it is finally exterminated by its rival and disappears entirely.

It follows, therefore, that if MH. be a direct development of BH., its grammar will be found to coincide in its general characteristics with the grammar of the latter, while in certain particulars it will exhibit changes which it will be possible, to some extent at least, to trace to their BH. sources and to explain their growth by the general laws which regulate the development of Semitic grammar as exemplified in other Semitic dialects. The new forms will often agree with Aram., but this agreement will have to be capable of being accounted for partly by the close kinship which has ever existed between Hebrew and Aramaic, and which would lead to the same results being produced in the two languages under equal conditions, partly by the direct influence which a powerful and widely diffused language, such as Aram. was in the Mišnaic period, would naturally exercise upon a less powerful, though living and independent, neighbouring dialect.

On the other hand, if MH. be but an artificial creation of men who spoke Aram. as their natural language, its grammar would be bound to assume one of the following three forms: either it would be a painfully exact and pedantic copy of BH., or entirely an imitation of Aram. grammar, or, finally, a more or less skilful but mechanical and unnatural blending of the grammars of BH. and Aram., forming a sort of hotch-potch incapable of lending itself to rational explanation or to philological analysis.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to survey the leading characteristics of the grammar of MH., and to compare them, wherever possible, with the corresponding forms in BH., in Aram., and in other Semitic dialects, in order to ascertain the true nature of the dialect as revealed in its grammar and its relation to BH. and to Aramaic.

THE PRONOUN.

1. *Personal Pronoun.* The first person singular is in the Mišna and in other purely MH. works always אני and not אנכי. The latter is only found either in quotations from the Bible or in direct allusion to Biblical passages.

This exclusive use of אני MH. shares with later BH. Thus אנכי never occurs in the popular Song of Songs, in Lamentations, in Haggai, in Zachariah i–viii, in the semi-colloquial memoirs of Ezra, in Esther or in Koheleth; and only once in each of the following books: Ezekiel (xxxvi. 28 in a common and stereotyped phrase, cf. Jer. xi. 4, xxx. 22, &c.), Nehemiah (i. 6 in a prayer), Daniel (x. 11 in the words of the angel), and Chronicles (1 Chron. xvii. 1 from 2 Sam. vii. 2). Elsewhere the chronicler regularly substitutes אני for אנכי: contrast 1 Chron. xvii. 6 with 2 Sam. vii. 18; 1 Chron. xxi. 10, 17 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 12, 17; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27 with 2 Kings xxii. 19. In the Pentateuch the portions assigned by critics to J and E, show indeed a distinct preference for אנכי, but P uses אני almost exclusively [1]. So also Aramaic (with the exception of the Zinjirli dialect) [2], Arabic and Ethiopic possess forms corresponding to אני only, while Assyrian, Moabitish, and Phoenician use forms corresponding to אנכי only. In earlier Hebrew alone the two forms are found existing side by side, but אני, being the shorter of the two, gradually came to be employed more frequently, especially in colloquial speech, until the longer form disappeared entirely from common use.

The *plural* is everywhere אנו [3]. This form occurs, as is well known, only once in BH., and then only in the Kethîb

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[1] Cf. Driver, *Introd. LOT.*[6], p. 156 note, and the references to König.

[2] Cf. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, Nos. 61, line 1 אנך; 62, l. 19 אנכי; but 63, l. 1, 20 אנה. The statement in the text does not, of course, imply that 'anî and 'anâ have a common origin; cf. Stade, *Hebr. Gr.*, § 179 a 2.

[3] But in the earlier portions of the liturgy אנהנו is the regular form, cf. *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, edited by Rev. S. Singer, pp. 9, 51, &c., and contrast with the *Confession*, p. 262, &c.

(Jer. xlii. 6), which is rather remarkable, seeing that the Kethîb generally represents a more archaic type of the language. The word seems to be a popular formation from אני on the analogy of the plural forms of the pronominal suffixes קטלני, קטלנו, or of ממני, ממנו; cf. also the verbal plurals קטלו, יקטלו, &c., and the use of *u* in Assyrian as one of the plural terminations of nouns[1]. From the vernacular the form crept into the book of Jeremiah, which was a great favourite with the popular reader, as witness the many interpolations and glosses found in it[2]; but it was struck out by the Massorah as a vulgarism.

All other Semitic languages have forms corresponding to אנחנו. So especially the Aram. dialects אנחנן, נחנא, אנחנא, and in the latest and most debased dialects אנן, with the syncope of the inaudible guttural.

The pronoun for the second person masculine is in MH. אַתָּה, just as in BH. But אַתְּ for the masculine occurs in אַתְּ פתח לו (Passover Haggadah and in the parallels *Mekilta*, 13, 14; *Talm. j. Pesaḥ.*, 10, § 4); אַתְּ סָבוּר (*Sifré*, Num. xi. 6; *Gen. rabba*, 2, 12), and more frequently in the late Haggadic Midrašim. This masculine use of אַתְּ is so rare and exceptional in earlier MH. that it can hardly be considered as evidence of a genuine modification of the established rule. אַתְּ must be regarded in such cases as having been borrowed directly from the Aramaic.

The occurrence of אַתְּ for the masc. in BH. (Num. xi. 15; Deut. v. 24; Ezek. xxviii. 14) is most probably due to a scribal oversight[3].

In the plural אתן is sometimes found for אתם and הן for הם, but this is merely a phonetic change which is very common in MH., but which may partly be due to the influence of Aram., in which these pronouns end in ן.

2. *Demonstrative Pronoun.* The fem. sing. is usually זו.

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[1] Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*[2], p. 192 (5).

[2] Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. II, part 2, p. 13, note 3.

[3] Cf. the spelling אַתְּ 1 Sam. xxiv. 19, Ps. vi. 4, &c., and see Driver on Deut., l. c., and the *Oxford Heb. Lex.*, s. v.

In BH. the form occurs once in Hosea (וֹ, vii. 16) and in the cycle of N. Israelitish stories in the books of Kings (זֹה, 2 Kings vi. 19), both of which exhibit a number of dialectal peculiarities; further in Ezekiel (זֹה, xl. 45), who has several other neologisms, in a late psalm (וֹ, Ps. cxxxii. 12), and six times in Ḳoheleth.

It is therefore very probable that the shorter form זֹה or וֹ existed from early times as a dialectal form in the northern speech, from which it gradually spread to the south, and in the course of time supplanted the longer form זאת.

The plural is אֵלּוּ for אֵלֶּה, which occurs also in Sirach (אֵילּוּ, li. 24). The change of the second vowel must have been due to an unconscious desire to indicate more distinctly the plural character of the word. The vowel chosen is the same as in אנו discussed above.

MH. has also preserved the demonstrative use of the pronouns of the third person, e.g. *Sanh.*, III, 3 בזמן שאין להם אומנות אלא הוא " When they have no other trade but *that one*"; *B. Bathra*, V, 2 חמורך הוא " *that* ass of thine," as opposed to חמורך זה; so often הרי היא, הרי הוא; הרי הם, but more commonly with the article ההם, ההוא.

The stronger demonstr. הלזה is found only in the shortened form הַלָּז: *Tohoroth*, IV, 3; VI, 5 למקום הַלָּז; VI, 8 "If he stands in *this* entrance (בפתח הזה) of the *basilica* and can see those who come in and go out through *that* (= the opposite) entrance (בפתח הלז)"; *Maccoth*, II, 2 הוציא הַלָּז את ראשו "*that one* brought out his head [1]."

The fem. הַלֵּזוּ is found in *Yebamoth*, XIII, 2 ותצא הַלֵּזוּ משום אחות אשה "that one goes forth [2] on account of her being the wife's sister."

The form הַלָּה seems to be shortened from הלז with the apocope of the ז [3]. It has the same force as הלז but is only used substantively [4]: *Maʿas. Šeni*, III, 2 זֶה אוכל פירותיו בטהרה

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[1] But the Cambridge codex (C) reads הלז.   [2] i.e. ההוצה, Deut. xxv. 5.

[3] Cf. גובא from גומץ (Ḳoh. x. 8), and כיצר from כאיה צר.

[4] Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 77.

וְהַלָּה עוֹשֶׂה צְרָכִיו בִּמְעוֹתָיו " *This one* eats his fruits in purity *and that one* does what he requires with his money"; *Nedarim*, IV, 8, V, 6 ; *B. Meṣia'*, III, 2 ; *Sanh.*, VII, 10 (הַלָּה opposed to הוא); '*Aboda Z.*, IV, 12. In *Yebam.*, III, 5 ‖ '*Eduyoth*, IV, 9 הַלָּה stands also for the feminine וְהַלָּה תצא מִשּׁוּם אֲחוֹת אִשָּׁה [1].

The plural of הלו (=הלוה) and of הלה is הַלָּלוּ, evidently a contraction of הַל+אֵלּוּ: *Ketuboth*, VII, 8 מוּמִין הַלָּלוּ " these defects," and frequently.

MH. also uses the particle אֶת as a demonstr. The particle stands alone when introducing a clause, e. g. *Gittin*, IX, 5–7 אֶת שֶׁהָעֵדִים נִקְרָאִין עִמּוֹ בּישׁר " That one with which the witnesses are read (i. e. which is immediately followed by the signatures of the witnesses) is valid." *Ohol.*, II, 4 אֶת שֶׁהַגּוֹלֵל נִשְׁעָן עָלָיו " *That one* on which the *golel* is supported." So especially to introduce two cases which either agree or differ from one another: *Berak.*, III, 1 אֶת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמִּטָּה וְאֶת שֶׁלְּאַחַר הַמִּטָּה אֶת שֶׁלְּמִטָּה צוֹרֶךְ בָּהֶן פְּטוּרִין אֶת שֶׁאֵין לָמִטָּה צוֹרֶךְ בָּהֶן חַיָּבִין " Both of *those* before the bier and of *those* behind the bier : *those* of whom the bier has need are absolved, but *those* of whom the bier has no need are bound (to read the Šema')"; so *Šekalim*, VIII, 7 ; *Kinnim*, III, 1, and, with omission of second אֶת, *Yadaim*, III, 1.

When introducing a noun the particle is followed by the pronom. suffix of the 3rd person in anticipation of the following noun [2], e. g. בְּאוֹתָהּ שָׁעָה " in *that* hour " (*Pea*, V, 4), בְּאוֹתוֹ יוֹם " in *that* day," אוֹתוֹ אִישׁ " *that* man," &c. [3].

The origin of this use of את may be discovered probably

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[1] Graetz's suggestion (l. c.) to point the fem. הַלּה is improbable. If this were so it would have been spelt הַלּוֹ just like וֹ.

[2] Cf. below, p. 82 f.   Literally the phrase means : "in its essence, namely, of the hour," &c. (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, p. 280, footnote 1), and is parallel to BH. בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה.   Compare with the less emphatic בּוֹ בַיּוֹם below, p. 84).

[3] Cf. Weiss, p. 112. The remark of Ges.-K. (§ 117 i) concerning the MH. use of את is incorrect.

in the peculiar usage found sporadically in all parts of the
Bible, but more frequently in its later parts, of placing את
before a noun, not necessarily in the accusative, in order to
emphasize it or bring it out more prominently before the
reader, thus imparting to the particle a semi-demonstrative
force [1].   Analogous to the MH. use of את . . . . . את may be
mentioned Ezek. xxxv. 10 (emphatic "both . . . and"),
xliii. 7; also Neh. ix. 19 and 2 Sam. v. 8.

The use of these demonstrative forms is peculiar to MH.
and is unknown in Aramaic.

3. *Relative Pronoun.*   The relative is in MH. every-
where ‏—ֶשׁ‎.   אשר only occurs in the early liturgical language
which is conceived in an elevated and semi-Biblical strain;
thus in the Passover Haggadah . . . , אֲשֶׁר נאלנו ונאל (*Pesaḥim,*
X, 6), in the Evening Service . . . , אֲשֶׁר בדברו (Singer, op. cit.,
p. 96), and often in benedictions; so the formula אֲשֶׁר קדישנו
במצותיו (ibid., pp. 4, 124, 219, 274, 276, 278, &c.); אֲשֶׁר בחר בנו
(pp. 4, 230, 243); אֲשֶׁר יצר (pp. 4, 299); אֲשֶׁר נתן (pp. 5, 68);
אֲשֶׁר ברא (pp. 280, 299) and a few more.   Elsewhere ‏—ֶשׁ‎ is
used : שֶׁבכל (p. 51), שֶׁבּראת שידענו (p. 239), and in bene-
dictions (*Berak.,* VI, 3; VII, 3; IX, 1 ff.; Singer, pp. 5 f.,
276, 290, 291, &c.).

In BH. the shorter form occurs twice in the Song of
Deborah (שֶׁקַּמְתִּי), a N. Israelitish production; three times
in the story of Gideon—a N. Israelitish hero; once in the
N. Israelitish section of the books of Kings; exclusively,
except in the late superscription, in the collection of
popular songs known as Canticles, which originated most
probably in N. Palestine [2]; sporadically in the later books,
and very frequently in Ḳoheleth (cf. Ges.-K., § 36).   Now
whatever the relation of the two forms to each other, there
is no doubt that ‏—ֶשׁ‎ is as old as, if not older than אשר.
Its confinement in the earlier books to N. Israelitish

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[1] Cf. Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude,* p. 683 f., König, *Syntax,* § 270 f. and the
Oxford Lexicon, p. 85, 3.

[2] Driver, *Introd.,* p. 449.

documents proves, as Schröder[1] remarks, that its use must
have been common in the vernacular speech of N. Palestine,
under the influence, to some extent at least, of the
Phoenician אש, ש, the Assyrian *ša*, and, perhaps, also the
Aram. י, ד. The scarcity of its occurrence even in these
documents proves that it was regarded as a vulgarism
which the literary language had to avoid. Its use
gradually extended to S. Palestine, and being the shorter
and more pliable form, it must in the course of time have
entirely supplanted the longer form in the common language
of the people, and from this it descended directly into MH.
But the literary prejudice against it seems to have remained
very strong, even long after BH. had ceased to be a living
speech. This prejudice accounts for the non-occurrence of
־שֶׁ in Esther, its scarcity in the Chronicles, and the anxiety
to avoid it displayed occasionally even by a man of such
an independent mind as the author of Ḳoheleth[2], not to
mention such a studious imitator of the ancients as Sirach.

4. *Interrogative Pronoun.* By prefixing the interrog.
particle אֵי to the demonstratives זה, זו MH. has formed a
new interrog. adjective אֵיזֶה, fem. אֵיזוֹ " which ? " It is often
strengthened by the addition of the enclitic הוא, היא, with
which it is sometimes written as one word, אֵיזֶהוּ, אֵיזוֹהִי,
Zebaḥim, V, 1 אֵיזֶהוּ מקומן של זבחים " *which* is the place of
sacrifice ? "; איזו היא דרך ישרה " *which* is the right way ? "
Aboth, II, 1 ; *Kelim*, XVII, 6 אֵיזוֹהִי גדולה, &c.

איזה being practically one word, prepositions are attached
to אי, as מאיזה, לאיזה, כאיזה, באיזה[3].

The plural of אֵיזֶה is אֵלּוּ, of which only the following

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[1] *Phoeniz. Sprache*, § 65 and footnote.

[2] Note such cumbrous and inconsistent phrases as בשל אשר יעמיל
(=Aram. . . . . בריל די), viii. 17), מבלי אשר לא ימצא, iii. 11, &c.

[3] Cf. the phrase so common in the Halakic Midrašim כאיזה צד " which
side ? " = how ?, contracted usually in the Mišna and elsewhere, by the
elimination of the זה, to כיצד. In the fragment of the Mišna with
superlinear vocalization published by J. B. Markon (*Hakedem*, No. 1,
St. Petersburg, 1907) the form is still written כאיוצר and כאיצר, cf. the
formation of הלה from the original הלזה discussed above, p. 11.

examples have been discovered by the writer: *B. Meṣ.,*
X, 1 ‏ורואים אלו האבנים הראויות להשתבר‎ "They consider *which*
are the stones which are likely to have been broken";
Makširin, III, 2 ‏באלו משקין אמרו‎ "In the case of *which*
fluids have they said it?[1]" Possibly this plural may also
be found in *B. Meṣ.,* II, 1 ‏אלו מציאות שלו ואלו חייב להכריז‎
"*Which* things when found are his (= the finder's) and
which is he bound to proclaim?" So D. Hoffmann in his
translation and commentary. But the following resumption
‏ואלו חייב להכריז‎ § 3 and ‏אלו מציאות שלו‎ favour the rendering
"*these,* &c." also in the foregoing passage.

This ‏אלו‎ is a contraction of ‏אי‎ + ‏אלו‎ and perhaps ought to
be spelt ‏אילו‎, the defective spelling being due to the ignorance
of the scribes, who mistook it for the demonstr. plural.
The Rabbis, who had a passion for lucidity and precision,
seem to have avoided this word for fear of this confusion
with the demonstr., and hence its extreme rareness.

The composition and use of ‏אַיֵּה‎ is thoroughly Hebraic,
and not, as might perhaps be imagined, an adaptation of
the Aramaic ‏אידא, אידין‎; rather may the latter be a
translation of the MH. forms.

We have in BH. a number of passages by which we can trace
the development of the phrase to its later sense. In ‏אי זה בית הראה‎
(1 Sam. ix. 18) the emphasis is on ‏אי‎ (= ‏אַיֵּה‎), while ‏זה‎ serves
merely as an enclitic particle to add strength and directness to the
question[2], and the proper answer to the question would be ‏הִנֵּה‎ or
‏פֹּה בית הראה‎. So Isa. l. 1 ‏אי זה ספר כריתות‎, and Jer. vi. 16
‏אי זה דרך הטוב ולכו בה‎, where it is to be noted that ‏דרך‎, which
is in the constr. state, is explicitly treated as fem. = ‏בָּה‎; so,
probably, also Job xxxviii. 19 (bis), 24. Through constant use,
however, of this interrog. combination, the emphasis would in the
course of time be sometimes shifted from ‏אי‎ to ‏זה‎, especially as
Hebrew words have a tendency of shifting forwards the accent,
and the question would now be in the demonstr., the answer being

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[1] The rendering "In the case of *these* fluids, &c." would not accord
with the usual interrogatory style of the Mišna.

[2] Cf. Ges.-K., § 136 c, d, and Burney's Note on 1 Kings xiv. 6.

no longer הנה or פה but זה [1], while אי would be reduced to a mere
interrogative particle as in איפא, איכה and MH. אימתי [2]. This is
the case in אי זה הדרך הלך (1 Kings xiii. 12) "*which* way did
he go?"; הדרך being the direct object of הלך as in the following
clause. If the question had been "*where* is the way in which he
went?" the relative אשר, which is very rarely omitted in good
prose, would have been inserted before הלך. So also 2 Kings iii. 8
אי זה הדרך נעלה "*which* way shall we go up?" as is shown by
the answer: דרך מדבר אדום, and 2 Chron. xviii. 22 אי זה הדרך
עבר [3]. In all these passages דרך is treated as masc., as sometimes
elsewhere, or the phrase אי זה, having become stereotyped, is used
without regard to the gender.

These two usages of אי זה must have existed side by side,
influencing each other until finally the older sense disappeared and
אי זה ceased to be an interrog. of place and became a pure interrog.
pronoun or adjective. So in Ḳoh. ii. 3, and especially in xi. 6,
where it stands before a verb, אי זה יכשר. Though the two parts
of the combination are still kept separate and distinct, the phrase
is already indistinguishable from the MH. איזה.

An intermediate stage, where אי may bear the meaning both of
"where?" and of the mere interrog. particle, is to be observed in
cases where the phrase is combined with a preposition. Thus the
question אי מזה באת (Gen. xvi. 8) presupposes the statement
מזה באתי "from here (= this place) I come," and originally it
must have meant, "Where is the מזה from which thou comest?",
though as it stands אי hardly seems to be more than a mere
sign of the interrogative. So Judg. xiii. 6, 1 Sam. xxv. 11
(a virtual question), 2 Sam. i. 3, 13, Job ii. 1, and in Jer. v. 2
אי לזאת אסלח לך, which presupposes the statement לזאת תסלח לי.

In 2 Sam. xv. 2 אי מזה עיר אתה, where the phrase is used
without regard to the gender of the following noun, and in
Jonah i. 8 ואי מזה עם אתה, we have the interrogative in its full
MH. sense, except that the two parts remain separated with the
preposition attached to the second component, while MH. would
say: מאיזה עם, מאיזו עיר [4].

[1] Cf. Ḳoh. xi. 6.
[2] Against Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v., cf. Payne-Smith, s. v. ܐܝܟܐ.
[3] In the parallel account 1 Kings xxii. 24 הדרך seems to have fallen out.
[4] Hence the rendering of the LXX: ἐκ ποίας πόλεως and καὶ ἐκ ποίου λαοῦ

5. *The Article.* The MH. article is identical with the BH. article both in form and in the general characteristics of its usage. Thus it is used whenever a noun is definite and known either from being definite in itself (e. g. החמה "the sun," השחר "the dawn," העולם "the world," השבת, &c.), or by having been mentioned before, or by being well known or necessary in connexion with the subject treated (e. g. נושאי הַמְּטָּה "the bearers of *the* bier" in connexion with a dead body, *Berak.*, III, 1; מוזגין את הכּוֹם "*the* cup is filled" (literally "mingled," in connexion with *Ḳidduš.*, VIII, 2)). The article is used with titles (e. g. הממונה "the overseer," *Yoma*, II, 1; הסגן "the deputy High Priest," VII, 1; אגריפוס המלך [1] King Agrippa, *Bikkurim*, III, 4; ר' יהודה הַנָּשִׂיא R. Juda the Prince (but כהן גדול and others)); with the vocative (e. g. המעון הזה "by this habitation!" *Ketub.*, II, 3; *Kerithoth*, VI, 3; המלך "O King!" *Sifre*, Deut. iii. 23, העבודה "by the Service!" &c.); with names of material (העין "wood," *Šabb.*, II, 3; הזהב, הכסף, *B. Meṣ.*, IV, 1); with collectives (e. g. הלוף והשום "*Lof* and garlic," &c., *Terumoth*, IX, 6); with abstracts (e. g. הנוי והכח והעושר ... והכבוד "beauty, strength, riches, glory, &c.," *Aboth*, VI, 8; *B. Meṣ.*, IV, 3, &c.).

The principle of using the article with nouns which are definite in the mind of the speaker [2] has found a much more extensive application in MH. than in BH. But it must be confessed that the article is used also in cases which cannot easily be brought under this heading, as e. g. הצואה "dirt," *Berak.*, III, 5; הצמר "wool," *Šabb.*, I, 6 and often. This must probably be ascribed to the influence of Aram., in which the emphatic state is so indiscriminately used even in those dialects which have still preserved the absolute state of most nouns. It must not, however, be

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respectively. But אי מזה, not followed by a noun, is rendered by the LXX by πόθεν: Gen. xvi. 8; Judg. xiii. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 11; and 2 Sam. i. 3, 13. אי זה, however, the LXX always renders by ποῖος, except in Job xxxviii. 24.

[1] For the order, cf. Driver, *LOT.*⁶, p. 506, No. 11.

[2] Cf. Ges.-K., § 126 *q–t*, Driver on 1 Sam. i. 4; xix. 13.

supposed that MH. was becoming unconscious of the force and meaning of the article. On the contrary the emphatic and demonstrative force of the article in BH. has been strengthened and still further developed in MH., as will be evident from a consideration of the following idioms :—

(1) The article is regularly used with the participle in the sense of "he who . . .," "she who . . .," &c., especially in semi-conditional sentences, e. g. הַקּוֹרֵא את שמע ולא השמיע לאזניו "*He who* reads the Šemaʿ but has not made his ears hear it," i. e. if one reads, &c., *Berak.*, II, 3 ; המתפלל וטעה "*He who* prays and commits an error," i. e. if one prays, &c., V, 5 ; המוצא תפלין, *ʿErub.*, X, 1 ; החובל בחברו "He who wounds his neighbour," *B. Ḳam.*, IX, 1, &c., &c. Contrast with Exod. xxi. 12 מַכֶּה איש ומת ; Prov. xv. 32 . . . פּוֹרֵעַ מוסר מואס ; Ḳoh. x. 8 חֹפֵר גומין בו יפל, &c.

(2) The article is prefixed to adjectives used substantively, i. e. when the nouns to which they refer are omitted. This omission is due to the laconic brevity and the parsimony in words which is one of the characteristics of Rabbinic diction, especially in the Halaka. The article in this instance serves to emphasize the nominal character of the adjective. In some cases it has a demonstr. force "that which."

Demai, IX, 6 טול אתה הַלַּח ואני את הַיָּבֵשׁ "Take thou the wet and I (take) the dry," sc. חטים mentioned before, or תבואה. *Terum.*, I, 5 . . . ולא מן הַתָּלוּשׁ על הַמְחוּבָּר . . . ולא מן הַחָדָשׁ, &c. "Neither from that which is loose upon that which is joined to the soil, &c.," ibid., I, 7, II, 6, IV, 8 ; *ʿErub.*, X, 11 (והמוטה), *Megilla*, I, 11 and *Zebaḥ.*, XIV, 6 בכל הרואה, sc. מקום "In every place which can see it," viz. the High Place of Šiloh (an allusion to Deut. xii. 13 בכל מקום אשר תראה)[1]. *Sanh.*, VII, 2 נותנין סודר קשה לתוך הָרַכָּה "A hard napkin is put into a soft one." *Aboth*, II, 1 מצוה קלה כבַחֲמוּרָה ; II, 9 הנולד sc. דבר *Menaḥ.*, X, 2 ; *Ḥullin*, II, 6 השוחט המסוכנת "If one slays a beast afflicted with a fatal illness"; IV, 2 המבכרת (cf. *Bekor.*, III, 2) ; *Bekor.*, II, 6, 7 הזוחלין (cf. *Kerith.*, VI, 6), VI, 4 והפנימיות ; *Mikwaoth*, V, 5 היפה sc. מים "those which trickle and those which drop," i. e. water derived from a flowing stream and from rain respectively ;

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[1] Cf. also *Tosefta Pesaḥ.*, III, 10 ; *R. Hašana*, 2ᵇ b.

VI, 3 השאוב sc. מקוה " A ritual bath filled with water drawn from another source."

In *Kidduš.*, I, 4 for והדקה ought to be read ובהמה דקה "and small cattle," according to the Editio Princeps (Naples, 1492) and the Cambridge codex[1].

(3) In a number of passages, hardly exceeding forty in the whole Mišna, the attribute (an adjective, but more commonly a participle, active or passive) is found with the article, while the substantive is without the article, but in almost all these cases the attribute is more or less emphatic, limiting the range of the substantive or contrasting it with another substantive of a different character, and the article is thus often equivalent to introducing a qualifying relative clause. As is well known, this construction is already found in a comparatively large number of Biblical passages[2], and in some of them a certain emphasis is to be observed in the attribute[3]; but many more " are hardly reducible to any rule[4]," and may therefore be regarded as colloquial irregularities which crept into the literary language. All the examples, however, in the Mišna, with hardly any exception, can be explained on the score of emphasis.

The following classification contains a fairly complete list of the passages in the Mišna with this construction :—

(1) When one attribute of the subst. is to be distinguished from another attribute of the same substantive expressed explicitly or implied : '*Erub.*, X, 11 נגר הַנִּגְרָר נועלים בו . . . . . . וַהֲמוּנָח כאן וכאן אסור " A bolt *which* is dragged (on the ground by a string tied to the door) one may bolt with it in the sanctuary but not in the country, but (with a bolt) *which* lies loose it is prohibited both here and there."

Šabb., XIX, 5 קטן החולה "an infant who is ill," opposed to an ordinary infant dealt with at the beginning of the section.

Beṣa, V, 3 כלים המיוחדים לאחד מן האחים "articles which are the special property of one of the brothers," opposed to the following ושאין מיוחדים.

Yebam., IV, 3 נכסים הנכנסים ויוצאים עמה "properties which come in and go out with her (= the wife)," i. e. נכסי מלוג [1] as opposed to ordinary נכסים or to נכסי צאן ברזל.

Ketub., VIII, 2 נכסים הידועים לבעל, opposed to the following ושאינן ידועין.

Ketub., VIII, 3 פירות התלושין מן הקרקע "fruits which have been plucked from the ground," opposed to the following והמחוברין "those which are fixed to the ground."

Ketub., XIII, 10 מוציאין מנוה הרע לנוה היפה אבל לא מנוה היפה "the husband may take his wife from a bad habitation to a fair one, but not *vice versa*."

Sota, VII, 3 עניה האמורה להלן "the 'answering' spoken of there," opposed to the following כאן (עניה האמורה).

B. Ḳam., I, 2 נכסים המיוחדים "property which is the special possession of some owner," opposed to נכסי הפקר "unowned property [2]."

Ibid., רשות המיוחדת למזיק "a locality which belongs to the person causing the injury," opposed to רשות הרבים "a public locality," or to רשות הניזק "a locality belonging to the person injured [3]."

B. Meṣ., II, 1 גיזי צמר הבאות ממדינתן "shorn wool which comes from the country," opposed to הלקוחות מבית האומן "those which have been brought from the mechanic," ibid., II, 2.

Aboth, V, 8 מיתות האמורות בתורה שלא נמסרו לבי"ד "capital penalties which are enjoined by the Torah, but which are not in the power of the court of law to inflict," opposed to capital penalties שנמסרו לבי"ד.

(2) When only one attribute is mentioned, but with the chief stress laid upon the attribute and not upon the substantive, the article being still equivalent to a relative: —

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[1] Cf. Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v. מלוג.

[2] Cf. the *Gemara*, fol. 13 b.

[3] Cf. the preceding ובכל מקום.

'Erub., IX, 4 גשרים המפולשים "bridges under which there is an open passage."   So following למבוי המפולש.

Yebam., XII, 6 עצה ההוגנת לו "a counsel which is suitable (= profitable) to him."

Aboth, I, 11 למקום מים הרעים "to a place of waters which are evil."

Ḥullin, IV, 1, 2, 4 בהמה המקשה לילד "a beast which has hard labour in bearing" (cf. Gen. xxxv. 17).

Ibid., IV, 7 נפש היפה "an appetite which is good."

Ibid., IX, 2 גמל הרכה "a tender (= young) camel, calf."

Arakim, IX, 7 כח היפה "the power which is good (= privilege)."

Kelim, II, 7 קלמרים המתואמות "a double (= twin) inkstand."

Chol., XVIII, 8 ועפר התיחוח "earth which is crushed."

(3) Some of these are standing expressions which have acquired almost a technical sense :—

Šeḳal., VI, 2 שער העליון "the Upper Gate," so Ezek. ix. 2.

Yoma, IV, 2, VI, 2 שעיר המשתלח "the goat which is to be sent away to Azazel," as opposed to שעיר החטאת.

Ḳidduš., II, 9 (and often) שור הנסקל "an ox condemned to stoning" (cf. Exod. xxi. 28, &c.).

B. Ḳam., I, 4 (&c.) שור המועד "the goring ox the owner of which has been forewarned [1]," as opposed to שור תם.

Sanh., VII, 4 נערה המאורסה "a betrothed maiden" (cf. Exod. xxii. 25, 27).

'Eduyoth, V, 6 שפחה המשוחררת "a manumitted female slave [2]."

Aboth, I, 1, 2 כנסת הגדולה "the Great Synagogue," as distinguished from an ordinary כנסת.

Ibid., II, 11 עין הרע ויצר הרע "an evil eye and evil inclination [3]," as opposed to עין טוב and יצר טובה [4].

(4) Where the subst. is preceded by a preposition, the latter may be pointed with *pathaḥ*, or the expression is to be classed under the preceding headings :—

Pesaḥ., VI, 5 לַדּ' המותר, לַדְּבר האסור; *B. Bathra*, X, 8 (end) בָּעוֹף הַגס, so *Aboth*, II, 8 כַּמּ' המתגבר; *Ḥullin*, III, 1 כְּמַעְיָן הנובע

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[1] Cf. Exod. xxi. 29.   [2] C. reads מישוהררה.

[3] So לשון הרע where עין and לשון are treated as masculine. So according to the traditional pronunciation עַיִן, לָשׁוֹן, as absolutes.

[4] This last expression, not found in the Mišna, does not take the article at all. Cf. below, p. 23.

XXI, 1 ; בְּמַת הַחֲמוֹר ; *Kelim*, VIII, 1 ; לְקָרְבַּן הַקָּל ; *Kerith.*, III, 1 ; הֶדֶק
בְּפ׳ הַתַּחְתּוֹן, בְּכוֹבֶד הָעֶלְיוֹן.

In *'Erub.*, III, 6 יוֹם־טוֹב הַסָּמוּךְ, the compound יו״ט never takes
the article; so *Mikwaoth*, III, 4 בְּעַל־קְרִי הַחוֹלֶה; cf. below, p. 23.

On the other hand, cases are found in which the subst. has the
article but not the attribute.

(1) *Pea*, VIII, 4 נֶאֱמָנִין עַל הַיָּרֶק חַי וְאֵין נֶאֱמָנִין עַל הַמְּבוּשָׁל " (the
poor) are to be believed in the case of raw vegetables (if they
declare it to have been given them as 'tithes of the poor,'
מְעַשֵּׂר עֲנִי), but they are not to be believed in the case of cooked
(vegetables)." Here חי may be explained as accusative of state—
"being raw [1]." Cod. C. actually reads in the second clause עָלָיו
מְבוּשָׁל; but the Munich cod. has הַחַי [2].

Terum., VII, 3 הַמַּאֲבִיל אֶת בָּנָיו קְטַנִּים וְאֶת עֲבָדָיו בֵּין גְּדוֹלִים וּבֵין
קְטַנִּים. Here, too, the adjective may be taken as acc. of state,
"being young . . . whether young or grown up [3]."

But this explanation can hardly apply to the following
passages :—

Tamid, II, 4 [4] סִידֵּר הַמַּעֲרָכָה גְּדוֹלָה מִזְרָחָה " he laid in order the
great pile (of wood on the altar) towards the east."

Ibid., II, 5 לְסַדֵּר הַמַּעֲרָכָה שְׁנִיָּה שֶׁל קְטֹרֶת "to set in order the
second pile for the frankincense."

Kelim, VIII, 10 הִכְנִיס רֹאשׁוֹ לַאֲוִיר הַתַּנּוּר טָהוֹר טִמְּאֵהוּ " if he
caused his head to enter into the air space of a clean oven he has
defiled it," and foll. הִכְנִיס רֹאשׁוֹ לַאֲוִיר הַתַּנּוּר טָמֵא נִטְמָא.

Para, XI, 2 כָּל הַסָּפֵק טָהוֹר לִתְרוּמָה טָהוֹר לְחַטָּאת " every doubtful
case which would be clean in respect to *Teruma* is also clean in
respect to the Red Heifer." Perhaps the article was omitted from
the first טָהוֹר (attributive) by analogy of the second (predicative).

For הַבַּיִת מְרֻוַּחַת (*'Aboda*, IV, 10) cod. C. reads הבית מר׳,
while Munich cod. has הח׳ המר׳.

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[1] Cf. הוּרַע בְּשִׁלָּה, Num. vi. 19, and see G. B. Gray, ad loc.

[2] Cf. Rabbinowicz, דִּקְדּוּקֵי סוֹפְרִים.

[3] But cf. *Talmud b. Ketub.*, 103 b לְבְנִי קָטֹן אֲנִי צָרִיךְ "I require my youngest
son," and then לְבְנִי גָּדוֹל אֲנִי צָרִיךְ.

[4] This form with ה *locale* is only found here in the Mišna and in *Para*,
XXXI, 8, both treatises belonging to the oldest strata of the Mišna, cf.
D. Hoffmann, *Die erste Mischna*, pp. 18, 21.

For הַמַּיִם שְׁאוּבִים (*Temura*, I, 4) N. reads המים השא׳, while C. has מים שאובים.

Nega'im, X, 3 מיד הַשֵּׂעָר צָהוּב (so N.), C. reads שער צ׳.   Note the following מיד שער צהוב.

Cf. in BH. 1 Sam. xv. 9 (המלאכה נמבזה); 2 Sam. vi. 3; Jer. ii. 21, xxii. 6, xxiv. 2; Ezek. x. 9, xxxix. 27; Esther ii. 14; Dan. viii. 13, xi. 31.   After a suffix, Gen. xliii. 14; 2 Sam. xxii. 18 (אויבי עז); Ezek. xxxiv. 12; Ps. cxliii. 10 [1].

(2) Sometimes the article is omitted with a demonstrative attribute, e. g. *Terum.*, III, 5 הכרי זה "this heap of corn"; *Me'ila*, VI, 6 הכיס זה "this bag." In BH. this construction is found regularly when the subst. is determined by a suffix (e. g. דברי אלה, Deut. xi. 18), and only occasionally, for the sake of euphony, when determined by the article [2]. But in Moabitish and in Phoenician it seems to have been pretty common [3].

The article is always omitted in a number of common expressions, specially compounds, which have become standing expressions, and as such are considered definite in themselves, e. g. תלמוד תורה "the study of the Torah"; דרך ארץ "good manners"; ספר תורה, כהן גדול "High Priest." יום טוב, בעל מום, בעל קרי "festival"; Conversely other nouns of the same nature are only found with the article, e. g. בעל הבית (οἰκοδεσπότης), בית המדרש, בית הכנסת; but plural, בתי כנסיות, בתי מדרשות, בעלי בתים.   Further, עם הארץ; and plural, עמי הארץ [4].

The article is always omitted with the genitive when introduced by של and preceded by an anticipatory suffix (e. g. *Šabb.*, I, 1

[1] See König, *Syntax*, § 334 *m*, *s*, cf. also the omission of the article with the attribute of old proper names in BH., e.g. בית הרן החהון; ההום רבה, ב׳, ב׳ ה׳ המליון, ב׳ ח׳ ההתהון; 1 Kings ix. 17, &c.; but contrast ‖ 2 Chron. viii. 5 and 1 Chron. vii. 24.   Cf. also the formula ירושלם קדשה on coins of Simon Maccabaeus, beside the more usual הקרושה ٬ (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 67 f.).   In this case the article may have been omitted in order to save space.   So in Syriac ܐܒ݂ܐ ܕܒ݂ܝܬ݂ܐ, cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge z. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 49, footnote 2; also *Syr. Gram.* (Engl. tr.), §§ 202, B. Rem., 203.

[2] Ges.-K., § 126 *y*, and *Tenses*, § 209.

[3] Cf. Schröder, *op. cit.*, §§ 43 (on הוא), 58 and footnote, and 61; G. A. Cooke, *N. Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 26.

[4] Contrast Ezra ix. 1 עמי הארצוה in a different sense.

ירו של עני), of which more will be said below in the treatment of this construction [1].

Having now arrived at the conclusion of our survey of the MH. pronoun, we are in a position to affirm that as regards the pronoun, MH. stands wholly on the basis of BH., and that the few differences in forms and syntax between the two dialects are natural developments in MH. out of the older BH.; developments, moreover, which bear the stamp of a popular and almost colloquial character (cf., e. g., אנו, אלו, הלה, הללו, את, &c.). The development and growth of the MH. pronoun have been seen to have proceeded gradually and uninterruptedly along the lines laid down by BH. and to have been hardly ever disturbed by Aramaic influence.

The Verb.

The MH. verb, as is but natural, differs materially from the verb in classical Hebrew both in form and usage. Some old formations have almost disappeared (e. g. the Puʻal and the Poʻel in verbs ע״ע), while many forms which appear in BH. as late and irregular neologisms have become here the normal type (e. g. the Nithpaʻel; the new intensive forms of verbs ע״ו). A great many syntactical idioms, which imparted such beauty and force to classical Hebrew style, are here entirely absent (e. g. the consecutive tenses, the variety of constructions with the infinitive); while, on the other hand, new constructions have arisen which were rare or unknown in BH. (e. g. the rise of a present tense in the participle, its use with היה, the periphrasis of the future by עתיד). Nevertheless, in spite of its great gains and still greater losses, the MH. verb, such as it is, is entirely indigenous and Hebraic. The Aram. influence which appears here and there, especially in the syntax, is not

[1] The frequent omission of the article in Sirach is probably to be ascribed to a studied imitation of the poetical and elevated style of BH. (cf. Ges.-K., § 126 h).

so intense or so general as might be supposed. Frequently this influence had already been active in Biblical times, and sometimes a form or usage which appears at first as an Aramaism, will be found on closer examination to be a feature common to many or all Semitic dialects in a later stage of their development. Such changes and differences manifested by MH. cannot therefore be ascribed, as they have been hitherto, to Aramaic influence, but must be explained as productions of the laws of growth and decay which govern all living languages in general and the Semitic family in particular.

We proceed to review the more prominent etymological and syntactical modifications exhibited by the MH. verb.

1. *The Stems.*

The *Ḳal* is identical both in form and meaning with BH. The form *Ḳatel* is exhibited by the verbs כָּשֵׁר, בָּטֵל, בָּדֵל, לָמֵד, &c. *Ḳatol* is only found in the common verb יָכוֹל.

The *Niphʻal* also agrees practically with the Niphʻal in BH. It is found in a *reflexive* sense. לִיטָהֵר (= להטהר) " to purify oneself"; .... נחלקו עליו " the sons of the High Priests divided themselves against him," i. e. disagreed with him (*Ketub.*, XIII, 1, 3); נמנו " they counted themselves" (*Šabb.*, I, 4); ונמניתי (*Pesaḥ.*, IX, 11); היה נטמן " he would hide himself" ('*Arakin*, IX, 4).

In a *middle* sense: נישאל "to inquire" (*Moʻed Ḳaṭ.*, III, 1); נפרעין " to obtain payment " ('*Ab. Z.*, I, 1); נזכר " to recollect " (*Berak.*, III, 5; VIII, 7); נהנה " to enjoy " (*Aboth*, IV, 5, so Sirach xxx. 19); נמלך " to change one's mind [1]."

More frequently as passive of Ḳal, נגמרו " they were completed," *Pea*, IV, 8; כל הנאכלין " all sacrifices which are eaten," &c., &c. Denominative Niphʻal is found in יֵעָנִי " to become poor"; יֵעָשֵׁר " to become rich." *Šeḳal.*, III, 2 (but followed by העני, העשיר!).

In חרש רומז ונרמז .... קופץ ונקפין " a deaf-mute makes signs (with his hand or head) and signs are made to him,

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[1] Lit. "to obtain counsel for oneself," cf. Neh. v. 7.

. . . . makes signs with his mouth and signs with the mouth are made to him" (*Gittin*, V, 7), the Niph. is used loosely in order to preserve the personal construction with the subject which is a characteristic feature of Mišnaic style [1].

So the *Piʿel* is identical with the BH. Piʿel except that it is often spelt with *yod* after the short ḥirek. This, of course, is merely an orthographical device to facilitate the correct pronunciation, and has no grammatical significance whatever [2]. Cf. also the full spelling of the Puʿal (e. g. מְחוּבָּר), of the Hophʿal (e. g. הֻתַּר), and in nouns like אוֹכֶל, גּוֹרֶן, &c.

The Piʿel is used in an *intensive* or *iterative* signification, e. g. מפסלין "to trim, cut off twigs," *Šebiʿith*, II, 3 ; ממרסן " to mingle, stir" (ibid., II, 10 ; cf. Ezek. xlvi. 14) ; הַמְעַבְּדוֹ "he who tans it"; המחתכו "he who cuts it up" (*Šabb.*, VII, 2) ; ממרח "to smear" (ibid., XXII, 3 ; cf. Isa. xxxviii. 21); היו מתלשין "they were plucking violently" (*Yoma*, VI, 4); זינתה (*Sanh.*, VII, 2) ; מחמדתן " coveteth them " (*Maccoth*, III, 15); הרוח מנשבת " the wind bloweth " (*Menaḥoth*, X, 4), &c.

Causative. סילק "to put aside"; מחמץ "causing to be leavened" ('*Orla*, II, 4); מדמע "causing to be mingled"; טמא "to defile"; עִבְּרָהּ "he caused her to be pregnant" (*Yebam.*, VII, 5; cf. Job xxi. 10); מילדין "to help in child-bearing," so מילדת "a midwife" (BH.); מדדין "causing to walk" (*Šabb.*, XVIII, 2; cf. Ps. xlii. 5); לְשַׁכֵּחַ "to cause to forget" ('*Erub.*, VII, 9; cf. Lam. ii. 6); משתקין אותו "they silence him" (*Sanh.*, V, 4), &c.

Denominative. מזבלין "to cover with manure" (> זֶבֶל); מאבקין " to cover with dust "; מעשנין "to fumigate" (*Šebiʿith*, II, 2), often in a *privative* sense : מיבלין " to remove wens "

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[1] Cf. '*Erub.*, IV, 10 ; *Moʿed Ḳaṭ.*, III, 1, &c.

[2] So regularly in Aram. In MH. the full spelling is confined to certain types of texts. Stein's suggestion (*Das Verbum*, p. 31) that this spelling signifies a lengthening of the vowel consequent upon a dissolution of the doubling cannot, in view of these facts, be entertained at all.

(> יבלת, Lev. xxii. 22); מסקלין "to remove stones" (BH.);
מזרדין "to nip off shoots" (> זרד) (ibid., §§ 2, 3), &c.

Of the *Puʿal* only the participle is common, e.g. מחותך
"cut up"; מרובה "large"; מיופה "beautified, beautiful";
מכוער "ugly"; מיוחד "specially belonging" or "unique";
מדומע "mingled" (of tithed fruit with untithed); מחומץ
"soured"; מעוברת "pregnant"; מאוחר "late [1]." But the
other parts are extremely rare, the passive Nithpaʿel being
used in their place. The following instances only occur:
לוקט "gathered" (*Pea*, V, 1); תעובר צורתו "let its form be
made to pass away" (i.e. let the sacrifice be kept over the
prescribed period and thus become liable to be burnt), a
sacrificial technical expression. (*Pesaḥ.*, VII, 9; *Šeḳal.*,
VII, 3; *Zebaḥ.*, VIII, 4); שינוגבו [2] "that they might become
dry" (*Makširin*, V, 3); יחוננו, in elevated style (*Sota*, IX, 15,
a later addition to the Mišna not found in N.), and הויבנו
Talmud b., *Makkoth*, 3 a. יופי (*Pea*, VI, 6), cited by Stein,
is doubtful. C. reads יופי, N. יפי, Munich cod. ייפה. The
parallel הורע proves nothing. In *Ketub.*, VIII, 4 יפה (so in
all texts) is used as the opposite to הורע [3]. ויבוקיש הדבר, in
the historical *Baraitha Talm. b. Ḳiddušin*, 66 a, is, as Stein
(p. 12, n. 7) observes, a reminiscence of Esther ii. 23. In
Pesaḥ., III, 1 point אלו עובְרין "these pass away," sc. מן העולם,
i.e. are destroyed [4], and not as Weiss (p. 78) suggests
עוּבְּרין which would involve an unnatural construction [5].

The disappearance of the Puʿal and its replacement by
the originally reflexive Nithpaʿel is evidently due to the
decay of the inflexional power of the language which was
no longer capable of expressing the modification of the
stem-idea by internal change alone without the aid of
external additions to the stem [6]. The participle with its

[1] Hence probably כיאָחָר = מיהר.
[2] N. reads שינגבו, on which cf. Stein, p. 12.
[3] Cf. also *Talm. b. Ḳidd.*, 20 b; *'Arakin*, 30 b.
[4] Cf. *Aboth*, V, 21.
[5] Cf. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 173, and Stein, l. c.
[6] Cf. Geiger, *Lehrbuch*, § 15, 2.

firm preformative has been preserved, and even extended to newly acquired verbs; but the imperfect with its continually changing personal preformatives, and especially the perfect which had no preformatives at all, were no longer able to maintain themselves. This decaying tendency was already strong in BH., where the old passive of the Ḳal disappeared entirely, leaving behind only a few traces, and its place was taken by the reflexive Niph'al [1].

The same tendency was at work in all the other Semitic languages. In Assyrian [2] the reflexive stems were gradually supplanting the passives. In Ethiopic [3], in Modern Arabic [4] and, of course, in Aramaic [5], all the passive forms have entirely disappeared, and their place has been taken by the corresponding reflexives. MH., therefore, presents in the disappearance of the Pu'al a common Semitic phenomenon which, however, it confines to one stem only, while the other languages extended it to all the verbal stems [6].

The *Hiph'il* is practically identical both in form and signification with the BH. Hiph'il. The Aram. א for the formative ה is only found in מה שׁאוניתני "wherein thou hast cheated me" (= הוניתני, Exod. xxii. 30, &c.; cf. the verbal noun אונאה), *B. Meṣ.*, IV, 4 [7], but such Aramaisms already occur in BH., as אשׁכים (?), Jer. xxv. 3, and according to Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 73) also in אסוף ,אדוש; cf. also the noun אזכרה (cf. Ges.-K., § 63 k, p).

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[1] Cf. Ges.-K., §§ 52 e, s, 53 u, and the reff. to Böttcher and Barth.

[2] Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*[2], § 115, pp. 238–9.

[3] Dillmann, *Ethiop. Gr.*[2], § 80.   [4] Spitta-Bey, § 90 a (4).

[5] With the exception of a few isolated forms in Biblical Aramaic and in some inscriptions, cf. Nöldeke, *GGA.*, 1884, p. 105; Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 224 f.; Driver, *LOT.*[6], p. 504.

[6] As might have been expected, the disuse of the Pu'al in MH. has also been laid to the door of Aram. influence, because, forsooth, the latter has no Pu'al (Stein, p. 11). But the Aram. contemporary with MH. has no Hoph'al either, and yet the Hoph'al is so abundant in MH.

[7] C., however, reads שׁהוניתני. אכבה (*B. Meṣ.*, III, 7, IX, 4 and often in Talmud) cited by Siegfried and Strack is a purely Aram. form borrowed from the colloquial speech of the common people, and is, probably, not a verb at all.

As regards its meaning the Hiph'il occurs—

As *causative* very frequently : הקדיש " to sanctify " ; מקריא " to make to read—read to " (*Bikk.*, III, 7, &c.); מאחיזין את האור " cause the fire to take hold (of the wood) [1] = kindle," *Šabb.*, I, 11 ; XIV, 5 ; משחיטין את הטבח " cause the butcher to slay," *Hullin*, V, 4, &c. &c.

Denominative. התליע " to breed worms, decay "; figuratively, " spread like worms " (*Kilaim*, II, 3, also Sirach xxx. 13), and in a *privative* sense : " to remove worms " (*Middoth*, II, 5) ; הנריל " to cast lots " (*Yoma*, VI, 1) ; המגריש " to pile up a stack " (*B. Kam.*, VI, 3); הדביש " to ferment " (of honey, *B. Meṣ.*, 38 a); המשליש " to deposit with a third party " (> שליש, *Ketub.*, VI, 7); האהיל " to overlay, cover," *Ohol.*, II, 1, &c.

Internal Hiph'il. This is even more common in MH. than in BH.: הוריקו " to become yellow " (*Šebi'ith*, VI, 3 ; *Ma'aseroth*, IV, 2, &c.); יבריא " to become healthy," *Šabb.*, XIX, 5 ; מִשֶׁתַּנְדִּיל " after she will have grown up," *Ketub.*, VI, 6 ; והעשיר . . . והעני " he grew rich . . . poor " (ibid.); הבריקה " she became bright," euphemistically " blind " (*B. Meṣ.*, VI, 2); יחכים " grow wise," *B. Bathra*, X, 8 ; הקדים " to advance, be first "; הפליג, הרחיק " to be far," &c., &c.

The *Hoph'al* is extremely common. It differs in no respect from the BH. Hoph'al except that it takes invariably the vowel *u* after the preformative, written ‑הו [2] instead of the usual BH. *hŏ*. This form of the vowel is found in BH. occasionally in the strong verbs (Ges.-K., § 53 *s*) and regularly in most of the weak verbs (viz. ע″ע, נ″פ, ו″פ, ו″ע, and ל″א). As *u* is also the regular vowel of Pu'al, it became in the popular mind the *only* characteristic vowel of the passive stems, to the total suppression of the vowel *ŏ*.

The few relics of the Hoph'al in Aram. have *ŏ* after the

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[1] Otherwise Jastrow. We should, probably, point אור (Isa. xxxi. 9, &c.), Aram. נור "a fire," and not according to traditional pronunciation אֹר.

[2] Cf. above (p. 26) on the spelling of the Pi'el. Stein cites one exception, viz. הַזֹּורוּת *Sifré*, Deut. iii. 23. His suggestion that ‑הו is merely *hŏ* written *plene* is hardly probable.

preformative except in the weak verb; thus הָנְחַת, הָתְקַנְת,
but הֻפְּסַק, חוּסְפַּת; cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 225.

Hithpaʿel and *Nithpaʿel*. The reflexive of the intensive
stem in MH. is, with few exceptions, Nithpaʿel instead of
the BH. Hithpaʿel. Now these two formations are prac-
tically identical both in form and meaning, except that
in the perfect the one has ה as its preformative and the
other נ. There can, therefore, be no doubt whatever that
the two form really one and the same stem[1]. The pre-
formative —ה was in the course of time changed in popular
speech into —נ on the analogy of the Niphʿal, through —ה
becoming associated in the popular mind with the causative
idea through the influence of Hiphʿil and Hophʿal, and —נ
with the reflexive idea through the influence of the Niphʿal.
This change only extended to the perfect, for in the imperf.
there was no room for either of these preformatives, and
in the infinitive and imperative the Niphʿal itself has —ה,
hence also the Hithpaʿel-Nithpaʿel has retained —ה (e. g.
להתגדל, *Aboth*, IV, 5; להתקים, V, 17; הסתכל, III, 1, &c.). In
the participle the preformative מ has maintained itself, in
spite of the Niphʿal participle נקטל, through its firmly
established nominal force, which is so universal in Semitic
speech. Besides, it would be unreasonable to expect that
an analogy formation of this kind should be worked out to
its full logical extreme.

This change of preformative must have begun at an
early period in the popular idiom, hence its occurrence
already in Deut. xxi. 9 and later in Ezek. xxiii. 48, where,
it is to be noted, it has a passive signification. Gradually
it made its way until in the Mišna the old form was
almost entirely suppressed. The preformative —ה survives
only in the old Mišna, *Bikk.*, III, 6[2] : והישתחוה (perhaps only

[1] Contrast Geiger, § 15, and Siegf.-Strack, § 91, and compare Stein,
p. 17. Salomon Levysohn (cf. above, p. 3, n. 2) explains the form
Nithpaʿel as an artificial composition of the Niphʿal and the Hithpaʿel.

[2] *Sifré*, Deut. xxvi. Note the form שוריהו and the general purity of style
of this and the preceding sections. Cf. also Hoffmann, *Die erste Mischna*,
p. 15 f.

a reminiscence of והשתחוית, Deut. xxvi. 10); in the liturgical expression התפלל (*Ta'anith*, III, 8; old?) and in the legal phrase התקבלתי ממך מנה "I have received from thee a mina" (*Ketub.*, IX, 8). In V, 1, C. reads שנתקבלתי, while in N. it is missing; in 'A. Z., IV, 12, both C. and N. read·שנתקבלתי, while ordinary edd. have התקבלתי.

The phonetic rules regulating the preformative ת are the same as in BH.; thus נשתתק "to become silent, dumb"; נשתתף "to join in partnership"; נסתמא "to become blind"; נצטרע "to become leprous." With first radical a ז the ת is changed into ד and transposed, as in Aram. (Dan. ii. 9): נזדמן "to chance"; נזדעזע "to be shaken violently"; להזדייף "to be forged" (*Gittin*, II, 4).

Before the letters ד, ט, ת the ת is assimilated to the first radical, the short vowel being, however, often represented by a י as in Pi'el, e.g. שֶׁנִּדַּיְירה "to be manured by cattle"; שֶׁנִּטַיְיבה "to be improved" (*Šebi'ith*, IV, 2); וּמִטַּמֵּא בנדה "and he becometh defiled by a *Niddah*" (*Nidd.*, V, 5; but also מתטמא, *Nazir*, IV, 3. Cf. especially *Kelim*, II, 1); מיתרגם "to be translated." Cf. further, Stein, p. 19.

As regards its meaning, the Nithpa'el bears the same relation to the Pi'el as the Niph'al to the Kal. It is primarily *reflexive*, as נסתפג "to dry oneself"; נתעפק "to busy oneself"; נתודע "to make oneself known," &c.; or what may be termed *internally reflexive*: נסתכל "to look intently, consider" (= BH. התבונן); נשתדל "to endeavour, strive"; תתירא "to fear" (*Sota*, VII, 8, also Sirach iv. 36, xii. 11); מִתְנַדְּבִין שמן (*Zebah.*, X, 8; cf. Ezra iii. 5; 1 Chron. xxix. 17). Note especially נתפקח "to regain the sense of hearing and speech"; נתפתח "to regain the sense of sight"; נשתפה "to become sane"; נתחרש "to become deaf"; נסתמא "to become blind"; נשתטה "to become mad" (*Gittin*, II, 6); נשתתק "to become dumb" (ibid., VII, 1). Also *reciprocal*: נשתתף "to join in partnership" (*Pea*, III, 5); נצטרף "to join one another" (ibid., VI, 1); נתערב "to become mixed" (*Yebam.*, XI, 3). As *passive* it is very common, serving as a

substitute for the Puʻal, e.g. נתבשל, נתנייר, נתגלה, נתארסה, נתפתחה,
&c., corresponding to the actives בישל, נייר, גלה, ארס, פתה, &c.

This passive use of a reflexive stem is, as stated above
(p. 28), common to all Semitic languages in their later
phases, but in BH. it is only regular with the Niphʻal,
while in the Hithpaʻel it is only found in ויתחמר (Micah
vi. 16), וישתבחו (Ḳoh. viii. 10), and in the cases of Nithpaʻel
mentioned above (p. 30).

As in BH. and other Semitic languages [1] the reflexive
idea is often expressed in MH. by periphrasis instead of
the reflexive stems. This is especially the case with verbs
which have no Nithpaʻel. But instead of נפש, which is
usual in BH. and Aram., MH. uses for this periphrasis
the noun עצם (" bone," and in a derived sense, " substance,
essence "), followed by the appropriate pronominal suffix,
e.g. *Ḳidduš.*, I, 1, קונה את עַצְמָהּ " acquires herself " ; so in
the following sections ; אין אדם מישם את עצמו רשע " A man
cannot make himself guilty," *Talm. b., Yebam.*, 25 *b*, &c.

This use of עצם is found already, in the construct state,
in BH., but only in connexion with things, viz. בעצם היום הזה
(Gen. vii. 13 and frequently) ; כעצם השמים (Exod. xxiv. 10)
and בעצם תמו (Job xxi. 23). But it is obvious that the
expression must have been primarily applied to animate
beings and then figuratively also to inanimate beings, so
that it must have been more commonly used in actual life
than appears in the literary remains of old Hebrew.

עצם is also used generally in MH. as a reflexive pronoun,
e.g. לעצמו (*Aboth*, I, 5) ; בעצמך (ibid., II, 4) ; הוא עצמו " he him-
self " ; זה בעצמו וזה בעצמו " this by itself and this by itself "=
separately (*Šabb.*, XIX, 2) ; so זו לעצמה וזו לעצמה (*Pesaḥ.*, I, 2).
As a genitive עצם is equivalent to an emphatic pronominal suffix,
e.g. בינו לבין עצמו " between him and his own person," i. e.
privately (*Bikk.*, I, 4) ; על ידי עצמו " on his own behalf " (*Ketub.*,
II, 9) ; מעשה עצמו " his own act," as opposed to מעשה שורו
(*B. Ḳam.*, III, 9) ; דברים של עצמו " matters affecting himself,"

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[1] Cf. Ges.-K., § 139*f, s*, and Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 129.

opposed to דברים של אחרים (*Šebu'oth*, III, 5); בפני עצמך "before thyself" (*Aboth*, II, 13); בכסות עצמן "by their own garment" (*Tamid*, I, 1); מחמת עצמן "through themselves" (*Para*, VIII, 11), &c.; cf. also the phrases לחוב בעצמך "to be guilty against thyself, thy life" (*Berak.*, I, 3), with מתחייב בנפשו (*Aboth*, III, 4, 7, 8); תמה עצמך "wonder in thyself" (*Makširin*, I, 3), with תמה בנפשך.

This use of עצם is an exclusively MH. idiom, and the late Aram. use of גרם in the same signification is an imitation of MH. (cf. also 2 Kings ix. 13 and see Burney's Note).

The old form *Saph'el* is found in the two verbs סרב (=סרהב) "to refuse, rebel[1]" and סרגל (רגל <) "to rule, draw lines," and in the nouns סמרטוט (מרט <) "rag, lappet," and סרק (ריק <) "empty." The *Šaph'el* occurs only in the two very common verbs שעבד "to enslave, subdue," and שחרר "to liberate, manumit," and in the corresponding verbal nouns שעבוד, שחרור and also in שעמום "dullness" (עמם <, Ezek. xxviii. 3, &c.). These formations are found in all Semitic languages and also in BH.[2] The verbs שעבד and שחרר are, however, most probably loan-words from the Aramaic.

Like BH. and other Semitic languages[3], MH. has formed a number of *quadriliterals*, but it does not exhibit in their formation that lack of restraint and of good taste which characterizes so many of the Aram. and especially Syriac formations[4]. They may be classified as follows:—

(1) Those formed by doubling the third radical: ערבב "to mingle"; שרטט "to scratch, inscribe"; קמצץ "to press."

(2) By repeating the whole root, only in ע″ע and ע″ו verbs: קלקל "to damage"; פרפר "to crumble"; סלסל "to curl, twist"; כלכל "to maintain"; נמנם "to be drowsy."

(3) By inserting a ר after the first radical: קרצף "to scrape"; קרסם "to trim, gnaw" (=BH. כרסם, Ps. lxxx. 14); or adding a ר

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[1] Also in Sirach, iv. 25 a, xli. 2, and probably also in BH. סרבים.

[2] Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 204 f., Ges.-K., § 55 *i*.

[3] Ges.-K., § 56; Wright, *Arab. Gr.²*, I, § 67; Spitta, § 89; Dillmann, *Eth. Gr.²*, § 71 ff., and Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 218 f.

[4] Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 180, and especially § 182; Dillmann, p. 251 f.

at the end: קנתר or קנטר "to chide" (> קנט); or a מ: פרסם (> פרשׂ) "to spread abroad, publish"; or a ס: פרכם "to move convulsively."

(4) Denominatives: נתאלמן or, after the Aram. fashion, נתארמל "to become a widow"; נתכרכם "to look saffron-like, abashed" (> כרכם, Cant. iv. 14); כרבב "to round off" (> כרכב, Exod. xxvii. 7, xxxviii. 4); משכן "to pledge" (> משכון)[1]. Note also הלקט "to stuff birds," probably a Hiph'il, "to cause to pick up," but used as an independent verb — מהלקטין (*Šabb.*, XXIV, 3). פרנס "to sustain"; קרטם "to scrape," and תרגם "to translate" (BH.) are most probably loan-words[2].

Most of these formations are also common in Aram. dialects, but in few, if in any, belongs the priority of formation to Aramaic. Some of them, like קרצף, כרסם, כרבב, הלקט are the exclusive possession of MH.

2. The Tenses.

In the inflexion of the verb, the following variations from the BH. forms are found in MH. :—

The second masc. plural of the perfect sometimes ends in תן for תם (e.g. עשיתן, *Middoth*, II, 1 ; but עשיתם in *Aboth*, II, 3). This is usually ascribed to Aram. influence[3]. But may not this modification be due simply to the natural phonetic change of ם into ן? How liable older Hebrew was to make this change, and how anxious it was to avoid it, is shown by the fact that the tone was always placed on the syllables תם, תן, כם, כן, &c., in order, presumably, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of the final consonants, and to prevent their being confused with each other. Naturally this confusion which appears in MH. was facilitated and accelerated by contact with Aram., but it is difficult to believe that Aram. influence alone would have produced this change of letters if Hebrew itself had not shown a natural tendency in that direction. Aram. influence was incapable of remodelling in the least the

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[1] An Assyrian word, Nöldeke, op. cit., § 181 (8).

[2] Cf., however, Jastrow, s. vv.

[3] So Stein, p. 24.

inflexion of the Hebrew verb after its own manner. It could not produce a change in the vowel of this suffix from ĕ to û and é (cf. MH. קְטַלְתֶּם, קְטַלְתֶּן with Aram. קְטַלְתּוּן (קְטַלְתִּין. Moreover, this influence, if it had really been so intense, ought to have worked in an opposite direction. Instead of producing in MH. one form for both genders, it ought to have preserved and accentuated in MH. the differences and distinction between the genders and persons of which Aramaic itself is so jealous, while Hebrew had always been slack about them, as is shown by the common gender of קטלו (Aram. קטלו m. ; קטלי, קטלא f.), and the use of תקטלנה for the second and third fem. plural (Aram. יקטלן, תקטלן or נקטלן respectively).

In the imperfect the form תקטלנה has entirely disappeared without leaving any trace in the whole of the vast MH. literature [1]. יקטלו and תקטלו are therefore used for both genders just like קטלו already in BH. and קטלתן sometimes in MH. In this MH. has merely developed to the full a tendency already strong in BH. (cf. Gen. xxx. 39; Lev. xxvi. 33 b; Judges xxi. 21 a, &c.; Ges.-K., § 145 p, t, u). Modern Arabic has gone further in this respect than MH., inasmuch as it has given up all the fem. plural forms, whether in the perfect or in the imperfect [2]. Aramaic, however, has anxiously preserved the distinction of gender even in the latest and most decayed dialects [3].

The imperfect Ḳal of transitive verbs is, in accordance with the general rules of spelling in MH., written plene יקטול. The plural remains יקטלו even at the end of a sentence. In a few instances, however, the form יקטולו is found in pause: *Tohor.*, X, 3 עד שיטבולו "until they bathe"; *Mikwaoth*, I, 5 וישטופו "and they will overflow"; *Ukṣin*, III, 4 עד שימתוקו "until they become sweet"; ויחלוקו "and

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[1] The form וְתֶחֱזֶינָה עֵינֵינוּ in the 18 (19) benedictions (Singer, p. 51), is an adaptation of Isa. xxxiii. 17 and Ps. xvii. 2.

[2] Spitta, § 90 a (1).

[3] Mandaic forms an exception, as it uses sometimes the masc. for the fem.; cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 162, and p. 87 (top).

they shall divide " (*B. Meṣ.*, I, 1, 2, &c.), the latter also
without pause in *Ketub.*, VIII, 2. So שימתונו " that they
may become softened " (*Tohor.*, IX, 5), and the fem. sing.
שתדורי " which thou wilt vow " (*Nedarim*, X, 7), which
Stein (p. 30) ascribes to Syriac influence[1].

So also in the imperative in pause כתובו " write ye ! ";
חתומו " seal ye ! " *Gittin*, VI, 7 ; VII, 2.

The *consecutive tenses* have practically[2] disappeared
altogether in MH. They are not even found in the liturgy
except in a few isolated cases, viz. in the *Ahaba*, שבטחו
בך וַתְּלַמְּדֵם (Singer, p. 39), but it may be doubted whether
this phrase existed in the benediction in Mišnaic times[3];
in the formula for the sanctification of the festivals : וַתִּתֶּן לנו
(Singer, pp. 228, 230, &c.) ; in the *Habdala* : וִתְלַמְּדֵנוּ, וַתַּבְדֵּל,
&c. (ibid., pp. 46, 227, 240, six times beside one perf. with
simple *waw*) ; in the Service for the New·Year : וַתִּפְקְדֵהוּ
(p. 250), בהגלותך . . . וַתַּשְׁמִיעֵם (p. 252) ; in the Neʿila for the
Day of Atonement : וִתְלַמְּדֵנוּ, וַתַּפְּכִּירֵהוּ (p. 267). These instances
must be ascribed to the influence of Biblical style which
manifested itself only in elevated and semi-poetical passages.
They are not deliberate imitations of the old literary style,
nor are they derived from the living speech of the day ; for
in either case they would have occurred more frequently.

As is well known, numerous passages are found even in
the oldest portions of the Bible in which the simple tenses
are used in place of the usual consecutive tenses, and this
becomes more frequent from the times of Jeremiah onward,
until in Ḳoheleth the relation between the consecutive and

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[1] In *Megillah*, III, 3, the ordinary reading לא יהלוש is correct. יהלושו
could hardly be used in an impersonal sense (against Stein, l. c.).

[2] The only passage known to the writer where the consec. tenses are
found is the remarkable *Baraitha* in *Talm. b. Ḳidduš.*, 66 a, in which the
impf. consec. occurs seven times (three of which are the form ויאבר),
beside eleven times of the perf. with weak *waw*. This *Baraitha* seems to
be a fragment of a collection of historical tales written in MH. but
affecting to imitate the old historical style.

[3] Cf. *Berak.*, I, 4. The phrase in the *Geulla*, וַיְכַסּוּ מים צריהם (Singer,
p. 43), is of course a quotation from Ps. cvi. 11.

the simple tenses is reversed, i. e. the use of the simple
tense becomes regular while that of the consecutive tense
becomes exceptional. The explanation of this phenomenon
as due to Aramaic influence, though obvious and plausible,
is inapplicable to the cases in the earlier books (cf. Driver's
Tenses, § 133). It remains, therefore, to say that this
irregularity arose at an early time within the Hebrew
language itself and independently of outside influence.
For it is inconceivable that in ordinary colloquial Hebrew,
even of the golden age of the language, such a subtle and
complicated idiom as the use of the consecutive tenses
could have always been observed with the strict precision
which we generally find in the literary dialect. The
popular speaker could not always have been equal to the
mental strain involved in the regular and continuous use
of a construction of this nature. Now and again looseness
of thought would manifest itself in loose and irregular
constructions, and these would in due time find their way
into the literature, and what was first a vulgarism would
in the course of time become merely a permissible and
innocent irregularity of style, and later a regular alter-
native construction, until finally it would become the
acceptedly natural and regular mode of expression.

It may even be doubted whether the consecutive con-
struction ever attained in popular speech that dominating
position which it occupies in the literary dialect, and
whether the more original and more convenient construc-
tion with the simple tenses did not survive in the every-
day language side by side with the new and more elegant
construction by means of the consecutive tenses. In
Phoenician, which also possesses the consecutive tenses,
the simple tenses are used very often where BH. would
employ the consecutive; thus וּפָעַל ... וישמע (Cooke, *N. Sem.
Inscr.*, No. 3, l. 8); ופעלת אנך וְיִקְרַשְׁתְּ (No. 29, l. 13); בֶּן ... וּפָעַל
(No. 33, l. 3); פעל וְחִדּשׁ (No. 38, l. 1), and the common
phrase יתן ויטנא (No. 13, l. 2, &c.), both verbs of which are
perfects.

The contact with Aram. would, naturally, but strengthen
the position of the older construction, until finally the
consecutive tenses would be entirely banished from the
living language and survive only in literature largely by
force of the literary tradition, as in Ḳoheleth, Daniel, &c.,
or through conscious and deliberate imitation of older
models ; so in Esther, Chronicles, and in Sirach. If this be
the case, the consecutive tenses must have become obsolete
in the living language long before the close of the Canon.

3. THE INFINITIVE.

Of the various and manifold constructions with the
infinitive to be found in BH., MH. has only retained the
gerundial use with ל to express the motion, direction, and
purpose of a verb. In its nominal capacity the infin. has
been supplanted in MH. by the corresponding verbal nouns
which are so numerous in MH., while for the infin. with
the prepositions ב, כ, periphrasis with ‎כְּשֶׁ— (=BH. כאשר,
Aram. כדי, Dan. vi. 10, כד) has been substituted as in Syriac
and usually in Aramaic. The loss of these constructions
cannot be ascribed to Aram. influence, since in Aram. the
infinitival construction is to be found pretty often, at least
in the Targumim, e. g. במיתא (Gen. xlviii. 7), במפקיה (xii. 4),
במיתוהי (xxiv. 61), במפקי (Exod. ix. 29), בשלחותיה (xi. 1), &c., &c.
These Aram. forms may, of course, be due to the influence
of the Hebrew text ; but the fact remains that they were
permissible in Aram. and not in MH. Moreover, the
infin. absolute for emphasizing a following finite verb is
extremely common, not only in the Targumim but also
in Syriac [1], while not a trace of it is to be found in MH.
The loss of the infinitive must therefore be due to natural
decay. And in fact in those late books of the Bible which
have not been influenced consciously or unconsciously by

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 293 ff. In the Targumim the inf. absol. is used
almost always where the Hebrew text has it. Cf. also Winer's *Chald.
Gr.*[3] (1882), § 46, 4, 5.

earlier models the use of the infin. is much more scarce
than in earlier books. Thus in Nehemiah's Memoirs the
inf. with ב is only found once, כִּשְׁמֹעַ (i. 4); contrast with
כַּאֲשֶׁר נִבְנְתָה (vii. 1), כַּאֲשֶׁר נִבְנְתָה (iv. 6), כַּאֲשֶׁר בָּאוּ (iii. 33, iv. 1, 9), כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע
&c. In Koheleth the infin. with ל is extremely common,
just as in MH., while the other infinitival constructions are
extremely rare. The only real infinitives in the book are
בְּרַבּוֹת (v. 10) and בִּשְׁפַל (xii. 4), since בְּרוֹב (i. 18, v. 2, 6,
xi. 1), מְלֹא (iv. 6)[1], and בְּרֹעַ (vii. 3) are properly substan-
tives. Contrast, on the other hand, מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִמְצָא (iii. 11),
כַּאֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה (viii. 7), כַּאֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵךְ (iv. 17), also iv. 10–12, &c.,
where older Hebrew would certainly have preferred
the infinitival construction. So also in the book of
Canticles, the inf. with ל alone is found (vi. 2, 11), but
not with ב or כ. Note the construction in viii. 1, 6, 8,
and other places where literary Hebrew would have
certainly used the infinitive. This construction of the
infin. with ב or כ is also absent in the first chapter of
Daniel, while from the clumsy way in which it is employed
in the rest of this book, and also in the original passages
of the Chronicles[2], it is evident that it was with these
authors an artificial mode of expression, in the use and
application of which they were but seldom successful. Its
total disappearance, therefore, in MH. is but natural and
inevitable.

As regards the form of the infin. with ל, it may be remarked
that in the Niph'al the preformative ה is usually elided after the ל,
as לְיִשָּׁבַע "to swear"; לִיסָּקֵל "to be stoned," &c., though the full
form is quite common, e. g. לְהִבָּרְאוֹת, לְהִפָּרַע (Aboth, V. 1), especially
in weak verbs: לְהִוָּדַע (Aboth, IV, 22), לְהִנָּדֵר (Šĕbī'ith, III, 9).
In the Hiph'il the ה is but rarely elided, as in לְרַבּוֹת (= לְהַרְבּוֹת),
לַשְׁהוֹת (= לְהַשְׁהוֹת) "to cause delay" ('Erub., X, 5)[3]. This elision

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[1] These two are often construed in the same way in MH., e. g. Aboth,
III, 15; רוֹב הַמִּצְוָה; Kilaim, III, 1 מִלֵּא רוֹחַב הַפִּרְצָה, cf. II, 6; Šabb.,
VII, 8, &c.

[2] Cf. Driver, LOT.[6], pp. 506, No. 12; 538, No. 37.

[3] לִשְׁבֵיחַ quoted by Stein (p. 10) is a noun = לִשְׁבֵיחַ "for a spread" or
"mat," cf. Bertinoro to Ḥullin, IX, 3.

of the ה is merely an extension to the infinitive when preceded
by a preposition of the phonetic principle followed in the formation
of the imperfect ; cf. also the elision of the article after a preposition,
and other cases of the elision of ה in Ges.-K., § 23 *k*. It is found
in isolated cases also in BH.[1] and must have been very common
in the colloquial language.

The analogy of the imperfect is also evident in the formation
of the infin. of verbs the first radical of which is a weak letter.
Thus פ״י : לֵירֵד,[2] לֵידַע, לֵישֵׁן, corresponding to the impff. אֶרֵד, אֵדַע,
אֵישֵׁן; פ״נ : לִיטוֹל, לִיטַּע, לִיגּוֹף = impff. יִטּוֹל, יִטַּע, יִגּוֹף. So לֵישֵׁא,
לֵיתֵן, except in the standing expression לָשֵׂאת וְלָתֵת (literally, " to
give and to take," i. e. " to buy," and then " to deal " in its
widest sense), where the old forms have been preserved for their
assonance[3].

Further, לִיקַּח and לוֹמַר = impff. יִקַּח, יֹאמַר, but other פ״א verbs
form the infin. regularly.

These infinitives may, perhaps, be older than the usual BH.
forms with the fem. termination ת : לָרֶדֶת, לָטַעַת, &c. In לְתֵתֵּן
(1 Kings vi. 19) we have perhaps a *forma mixta* of the colloquial
לְתֵּן and the literary לָתֵת ; so perhaps also תתן (1 Kings xvii. 14,
in the Kethib) may be a *forma mixta* of תֵּן and תֵּת. This would
go to show that there was also a colloquial infin. תֵּן without the
preposition.

The inf. with ל preceded by the adjective עָתִיד is some-
times used to express with emphasis the occurrence of
a future act or event (the *Periphrastic Future*). It is not
very common in the Mišna or in the Halakic Midrašim,
and where it does occur it always expresses, in accordance
with the meaning of עָתִיד, a resolve, readiness, or obligation
to perform an act, or the certainty and inevitable character

[1] Ges.-K., §§ 51 *b*, 53 *q*.

[2] So Sirach xxx. 17.

[3] Cf. Weiss, p. 91. A similar commercial expression is אם הכר ואם יהר
"more or less " (*B. Bathra*, VII, 2 f.). Hoffmann in his edition points יַהֵּיר
incorrectly. The Targumic נסב ויהב (Zach. v. 6, 7), and the Talmudic
שקל וטרי are imitations of the MH. לשׂאת ולתת. So also the Talmudic
שקלא וטריא is a translation of the MH. משׂא ומתן " business." Cf. also
Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, p. 25.

of an event[1]. The following are all the instances of this construction in the Mišna :—

Demai, VII, 1 מה שאני עתיד להפריש " what I shall have to set apart."

Megilla, II, 3 אם עתיד לחזור "if he is resolved, or going to return."

Nedar., III, 1 כל נדר שאני עתיד לידור " every vow which I shall ever make."

Tohor., IX, 2 גמר מלמסוק אבל עתיד ליקח . . . אבל עתיד ללוות " he has finished gathering the olives but he is going to buy (more), he has finished buying but he is going to borrow (more)."

Ibid., IX, 6 נתנן בבית . . . ועתיד להעלותן לגג " he put them into the house, but he is going to bring them up to the roof."

Šeḳal., VI, 3 ; *Midd.*, II, 6 בו המים מפכים ועתידין להיות יוצאין מתחת מפתן הבית " in it the waters trickle forth and in the future they shall go forth from under the threshold of the house" (cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12).

Midd., II, 3 . . . וכך הם עתידים להיות שנאמר " and so shall they be in the future, as it is said ' And he brought me forth into the outer court '" (Ezek. xlvi. 21).

Nazir, V, 4 " if you had known ישביה"מק עתיד ליחרב that the temple was going to be destroyed"; *Sota*, V, 2 ; *B. Meṣ.*, IV, 2 ; *Sanh.*, X, 2 ; *Aboth*, III, 1 ; *Uḳṣin*, II, 12 (a later addition).

The construction is extremely common in the later Haggadic literature with a force analogous to that of the last examples in the list above. It is also very common in the Targumim, where it is used as a rule in the same way as in MH. (e.g. Gen. iii. 15, 22; iv. 10; vi. 3; xv. 12, in Jonathan). But sometimes עתיד is followed in the Targum by ד and the imperf., e. g. Isa. xl. 2. In Syriac ܡܬܝܕ is always followed by — ܘ and the imperf.[2] In IH. the construction is found only once, viz. Job iii. 8 העתידים עורר (=) לעורר) ליתן. Note also עתידות " the destined future," Deut. xxxii. 35. The root עתד is rare in the Bible, but it may have been common in the colloquial language of Biblical times.

[1] Cf. Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 87, and M. Grünbaum, *Sem. Studies in memory of Kohut*, p. 230.

[2] Cf. Payne-Smith, s. v.

4. THE PARTICIPLE.

In its form the MH. participle coincides exactly with
the BH. participle. The feminine singular usually ends
in ת ֶ — ת ַ — as פּוֹרֶקֶת, מִתְחַלֶּקֶת, מְדַבַּעַת. So also in BH. the
fem. partic. with ת ַ — is by far the more common form.
Thus in a cursory examination of the first twenty-seven
chapters of Genesis the writer has found fifteen examples
of the form with ת ַ — against hardly one with ה ָ — (xx. 3
בְּעֻלַת בעל) [1].

The fem. of קְטוּל, however, and of verbs ע″ו and ל″ה
always ends in ה ָ —.

Here we see again how little MH. grammar was
influenced by Aramaic. The analogy of Aram., which
forms the fem. partic. by attaching the termination א ָ —,
וֹ ֵ — to the masculine, ought to have favoured the pre-
dominance in MH. of the form with ה ָ —, but as a matter
of fact the reverse is the case. Curiously enough the
scarcity in MH. of the fem. partic. with ה— has also been
attributed to Aram. influence (Stein, p. 28 (2)).

Already in BH. we find a few cases where the passive
קְטוּל is used for the active, viz. in intransitive verbs, to
express an inherent quality, as בטוח, שכור [2], and in transitive
verbs to express an act which is so constant and continuous
as to become a condition and a quality of the subject, who
is thus conceived to be himself influenced and acted upon
by his own act [3]; so אֲחוּזֵי חרב "holding swords" (Cant.
iii. 8); זכור "mindful" (Ps. ciii. 14), &c. This construction
is more extensively used in Aram. and especially in Syriac [4].
In MH. it is not so common as in Aram., but is yet more
frequent than in BH. The following is a fairly exhaustive
list of examples of this usage in MH.: מָתוּן "cautious"

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[1] Cf. also Ges.-K., § 94 d.

[2] Cf. Ges.-K., 50 f.

[3] Otherwise Barth (Nominalbildung, p. 175 f.) who regards these forms
as participles active derived from the u imperfect.

[4] Nöldeke, Syr. Gr., § 280.

TO BIBLICAL HEBREW AND TO ARAMAIC 43

(*Aboth*, I, 1); שָׁקוּד " watchful, diligent " (ibid., II, 14);
רְבוּעִים " lying " (*Bekor.*, IX, 7); טְבוּל יום ,טְבִילַת יום " one who
has bathed but has to wait for sunset in order to become
pure " (*Tohor.*, II, 1 and *Tebul Yom, passim*). The common
form סָבוּר " thinking " is an adaptation of the Aram. סביר.

In transitive verbs : מְקוּבָּל " having been made the recipient
of a tradition " (*Pea*, II, 6, &c.; cf. *Aboth*, I, 1 מִשֶׁה קבל [1]);
נָשׂוּי " married " (*Yebam.*, XIII, 7, &c.), i. e. " in condition of
being married," but the act of marrying is always expressed
by the active הנושא ; חֲשׂוּכֵי בגדים " lacking garments " (*Kelim*,
I, 2); שְׁתוּיֵי יין " men who are in a state of having drunk
wine [2] "; שלא רָחוּץ ידים ורגלים " one who is in a state of not
having washed his hands and feet [3] " (*Kel.*, I, 9 ; *Para*,
IV, 1); תְּפוּסֵי מעשי אבותיהם בידיהם " holding the acts of their
fathers in their hands," i. e. conducting themselves as their
fathers did (Sifra, ed. Weiss, fol. 112 b). So perhaps in the
phrase כְּפוּי טובה " ungrateful " (pl. כְּפוּיֵי טובה), if, as appears
to the writer, it means " repressing, withholding thanks [4] ".

The other examples adduced by Hillel (op. cit., p. 22), are true
passives : שָׁקוּל " balanced " = even ; תָּלוּי " hanged " = hanging [5];
שָׁלוּחַ " stripped of the skin "; שָׁחוּל " suspended " = falling. In
B. Bathra, 2 b point נָפוּל not נָפוּל. The Munich cod. actually
has ניפול (*Dikd. Soferim*, ad loc.).

So also חלוצה cited by Weiss (p. 90 (א) Obs.) is conceived in
MH. as a true passive, while the person whose shoe was drawn
off is conceived everywhere in MH. as active, חוֹלֶיץ, e. g. *Yebam.*,
IV, 1, 7, 8, &c. ; cf. IV, 5, 6 עליך מצוה או חֲלוֹץ או יַבֵּם (imperative), &c.

The *Negative* usually employed with the participle in
MH. is אין, just as in BH., but frequently לא is used,
whenever it is intended to impart a certain emphasis to the

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[1] In Mediaeval Hebrew מקובל means " having been initiated into the
Kabbala," a " Kabbalist."

[2] Cf. Lev. x. 9.

[3] Cf. Ex. xxx. 10 f.

[4] Cf. *'Aboda Z.*, IV, 3. The etymology given by Levy and Kohut is
improbable ; cf. also Jastrow.

[5] So הלוים, Josh. x. 4.

negation. This happens either when the negative follows immediately upon an affirmative [1], or when two or more negatives follow each other. In the first case ולא has the force of " but not," and in the second case לא ... ולא means " neither ... nor ..." The participial clause thus negatived contains as a rule no other words but the participle.

1. *Bikk.*, I, 1, 3, 4 יש מביאין בכורים וקורין מביאין ולא קורִין " there are some who bring first-fruits and recite, some who bring but do *not* recite [2]."

Šabb., XI, 2 מושיטין ... אבל לא זורְקִין " one may hand the boards ... but *not* throw them."

Yebam., III, 1 ff. הרי אלו חולצות ולא מתְיבְּמוֹת " lo, these perform the *ḥaliṣa* but are *not* to be taken in wedlock by the levir"; cf. VI, 1; VII, 4; X, 8, 9; XI, 4, 6, and *Sota*, I, 2.

Ibid., III, 6 אנדרוגינוס נושא אבל לא נִישָׂא " the *ἀνδρόγυνος* may marry a wife but must not be married to a husband"; cf. *Sanh.*, VII, 5.

Šebuʿoth, VII, 1 נשבעין ולא משלמין " they take the oath but are free from payment."

Ḥullin, I, 7 תוקעין ולא מבדילין "the trumpet is blown (as a signal for stopping work) but no *habdala* is recited"; so following מבדילין ולא תוקעין. Contrast with the negatives אין at the beginning of the section in non-emphatic negation or in longer clauses.

2. *Terum.*, I, 2 חרש המדבר ואֵינו שומע " the deaf who can speak," the negative not being emphatic, but following שאינו לא שׁוֹמֵעַ ולא מְדַבֵּר " who can *neither* hear *nor* speak."

Pesaḥ., I, 5 תולין לא אוכלין ולא שורפין " they are in suspense : *neither* may they eat (the leavened bread), *nor* need they burn it."

Beṣa, II, 8 אין מקרדין ... אבל מקרצפין וחכמים אומרים אין מקרדים אף לא מקרצפים " one may not comb a beast on the festival with an iron comb, but one may do so with a wooden comb. The Sages say one may *not* comb with an iron comb *neither* may one comb with a wooden comb." Cf. further V, 2; *Yebam.*, VII, 5; VIII, 4, 5; XI, 2 לא הולצים ולא מיבמים (contrast with XI, 5, 7 in longer clauses); *Sota*, IV, 1, 2, 3; *Maccoth*, III, 13; *ʿEduyoth*, V, 2 ||

[1] Cf. Geiger, p. 43.
[2] The section in Deut. xxvi. 5–10.

Hullin, VIII, 1 ; *Temura*, IV, 1 ; *Me'ila*, III, 1 ff. (contrast with III, 3 אין מועלים בָּהֶם) ; *Nega'im*, X, 4 ; *Nidda*, VI, 1.

3. The two cases side by side, *B. Bathra*, VIII, 1 ; *Horayoth*, III, 5 כה"ג מקריב אונן ולא אוכל וההדיוט לא מקריב ולא אוכל [1] ' the High Priest may offer sacrifices on the day of the death of a near kinsman *but* may *not* eat of the sacrifice, while the ordinary priest may not offer a sacrifice nor eat of one " ; *Arakin*, VII, 4 ; *Ohol.*, VIII, 1 ; *Mikwaoth*, VII, 1 ; *Uksin*, I, 1.

In longer clauses the participle is negatived by אין, e. g. *Me'ila*, I, 3 ; אין מועלים בהם ואין חיבים עליהם משום ... " one does not incur *Me'ila* by using them nor is one guilty in their case of ..." ; *Arakin*, II, 6 ; *Ketub.*, V, 5.

The following are the exceptions to the above rules met with in the Mišna : לא used to negative a longer clause ; *Ketub.*, VII, 6 ; *Nedarim*, IV, 5 ; cf. *Aboth*, II, 16 ; *Arakin*, II, 3 ; VII, 1 ; cf. also *Aboth.*, V, 14. In *'Ab. Z.*, II, 5 read with N. and C. לא נהנין ולא מועלין.

In BH., too, numerous cases are found of participles negatived by לא [2], but very few of them can be re-garded as emphatic negations. The usual explanation of such constructions on the analogy of לא עם [3] (Deut. xxxii. 21) is hardly applicable to passages like Deut. xxviii. 61 ; Hab. i. 14 ; Job xii. 3, xxix. 12 ; or to 2 Sam. iii. 34 ; Ezek. iv. 14, where the participle, being parallel to a finite verb, is evidently used with a verbal force. We have obviously, in these constructions, whether in BH. or in MH., an extension of the use of the general negative לא to cases regularly negatived by אין without in the least implying a weakening of the nominal character of the participle. Considering also the restrictions, enumerated above, under which לא is used with the participle in MH., it will become

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[1] Cf. Gen. xxxv. 18 (אוני) ; Lam. iii. 39.

[2] All the cases are collected and classified by E. Sellin, *Über die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur d. hebr. Participien u. Infinitive*, p. 27, and by J. Kahan in his dissertation with the same title, p. 19.

[3] Cf. Driver to Deut. iv. 42, also *Tenses* [3], § 162 footnote.

clear that it would be wrong to adduce this construction
as evidence that the participle had become in MH. a mere
verb just as in Aramaic.

This also applies to the *Position of the Subject* of a
participial predicate. The subject whether pronoun or
noun is sometimes placed in MH., as in BH.[1], after the
participle, but only as a rule when special emphasis is
to be placed on the participle, so that the act rather than
its subject is uppermost in the speaker's mind, and is thus
placed first in accordance with the general custom in
Hebrew. Gradually this order of words was extended also
to cases where the emphasis is faint or even entirely absent,
especially in very common and colloquial phrases.

The following is a classified list of passages in the Mišna in
which the participle precedes its subject :—

(1) With a noun as the subject:

Ḥalla, I, 8 ויוצא בה אדם ידי חובתו "one *may* fulfil with it
one's obligation," opposed to the following ואין אדם יוצא.

Šabb., V, 1 "wherewith may a beast go out and wherewith
may it not go out ?" יוצא הגמל "the camel *may* go out ... "; so
ʿ*Eduy.*, II, 7.

Beṣa, III, 8 אומר אדם "a man *may* say," opposed to לא יאמר
אדם in the preceding paragraph; so הולך אדם and IV, 6, 7 ; *Šabb.*,
XXI, 1 ; XXIII, 1 ; *Ketub.*, II, 4, 10 ; *Nazir*, II, 2 ; *Sota*, III, 4 ;
Ḳidduš., IV, 12 מתיחד אדם "a man *may* be alone," opposed to
the preceding לא יתיחד . . .

B. Meṣ., V, 6, 8, 10 ; VII, 5 אוכל פועל קישות "a workman may
eat cucumbers," opposed to the following לא יאכל פועל (VII, 6).

Aboth, III, 14 חביב אדם, חביבין ישראל, &c.; VI, 7 גדולה תורה;
Bekor., V, 5 ; *Kerith.*, VI, 3.

So usually in the common phrases חיב אדם "one is bound"
(*Berak.*, IX, 5, &c.)[2]; צריך אדם "one must" (*Šabb.*, II, 7, &c.);

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[1] Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 135 (4). So also in Phoenician : בְּמֵל אנך, קְרָא אנך,
Cooke, op. cit., No. 3, 1, 2, 3, and the note p. 21 f.

[2] But *Bekor.*, IV, 1 : ישראל היֿבים as the subject is emphatic : the
Israelite as opposed to the *priest*.

ומודים חכמים "the Sages admit" (*Pea*, III, 2 ; *Ketub.*, II, 2 ; *B. Bathra*, V, 2 ; *Horay.*, I, 2, &c.).

(2) With a pronoun as the subject :

Šabb., III, 5 לא יתן לתוכו צונן אבל נותן הוא לתוכו " one may not put into it cold water but one *may* put into it . . . ," so below.

'*Erubin*, IV, 2 מה אנו לירד אמר להם מגתּרים אַתֶּם " may we go down ? ¹ He said to them, You *may* " ; *Pesaḥ.*, II, 7 אבל שפה הוא as opposed to לא תשרה) ; *Beṣa*, II, 1.

Ketub., II, 5, 6 נישבתי וּטהוֹרָה אֲנִי " I was indeed taken captive, *but* I have remained chaste " ; IX, 5 ; *Nedar.*, IV, 4 ; XI, 7, 12 ; *Sota*, I, 5 ; III, 5 (טמאות הן), III, 6 ; IV, 2 ; '*Eduy.*, VIII, 2 ; *Horay.*, I, 4.

So also with the common participle יָכוֹל which is generally emphatic: *Ketub.*, VII, 10 (*bis*, very instructive !) ; XIII, 5, 6, 8, 9 ² ; *Sota*, IV, 2 ; *Ḳidduš.*, III, 13.

In some of the following passages the emphasis on the participle is hardly noticeable : יודע אני ³, *Berak.*, V, 5 (instructive !) ; *Nedar.*, XI, 7 (*bis*) ; *Nazir*, II, 4 ; *Nidda*, V, 6 ; מקובל אני " I am in possession of a tradition," *Pea*, II, 6 ; *Yebam.*, XVI, 7 ; '*Eduy.*, VIII, 7 ; *Yadaim*, IV, 3 ; רואה אני ⁴ " I prefer," *Kilaim*, II, 11 ; *R. Hašana*, II, 8 ; *Ketub.*, XIII, 3, 4, 5 ; *Šebu'oth*, VI, 3 ; *Aboth*, II, 9 (2).

תַּמֵהַּ אני " I am astonished," *B. Meṣ.*, VI, 8 ; *Kerith.*, IV, 3.

זָכוּר אני ⁵ " I remember," *Ketub.*, II, 10 ; *Ḳidduš.*, IV, 14 (מניח אני) ; *Maccoth*, I, 1 ff. ; *Šebu'oth*, IV, 1 ff. ; '*Arakin*, IV, 2 (אומר אני) ⁶ ; *Makširin*, I, 4 (2) ; *Yadaim*, IV, 3 (קובע אתה) ⁷, IV, 6 f.

Note also the following passages where the pronoun הוא placed after the predicate anticipates the subject proper ⁸ : *Aboth*, II, 14,

¹ Literally : " What are we in respect of going down ? " cf. *Tenses*, § 205.

² With omission of the pronoun הוא. Cf. the very common technical expression יכול ש—, which stands for יכול אני לוכר ש—.

³ So Ḳoh. viii. 12.

⁴ So Gen. xxxi. 5.

⁵ In later style contracted, after Aramaic fashion, to זכורני, *Talm. b. Šabb.*, 115 a, &c.

⁶ So Ps. xlv. 2 by which the statement in *Tenses*, § 135 (4) Obs., is to be corrected.

⁷ A reminiscence of Malachi iii. 8.

⁸ Cf. on this idiom below, p. 84.

16 : ונאמן הוא בעל מלאבתך "and faithful is he, even thy employer";
Para., X, 5 ; XII, 5 אוחז הוא הטהור ; אבל עומד הוא הטהור " the clean
man *may* stand, hold."

The contraction of the participle and the following אני into one
word is sometimes found in Midrašim and in late MH. style
generally, probably under the influence of Aramaic, in which this
contraction takes place with the personal pronouns of the 1st and
2nd persons both singular and plural [1]. Such contracted forms
never occur in the Mišna. The instances quoted by previous
writers rest on incorrect texts. For חוששני (*Šabb.*, XXII, 3)
C. reads חושש אני " I fear [2]," while N. has, wrongly, חושד אני
" I suspect." For נוזרני (*R. Hašana*, II, 9) both N. and C. read
נוזר אני (" I decree "), and for מקובלני (*Yebam.*, XVI, 7 ; *Yada.*,
IV, 2) both these texts have מקובל אני. So also *Nedar.*, I, 1 for
מודרני . . . , מופרשני . . . , מרוחקני these two texts have מודר אני . . . ,
מופרש אני . . . , מרוחק אני.

The substantive verb היה when combined with the
participle is treated, in respect to its position, similarly to
the personal pronoun. As a rule it precedes the participle,
but the latter sometimes stands first for the sake of emphasis
or in familiar expression.

Pea, II, 4 נוהגין היו בית אבא " my father's house were
accustomed," modifying the preceding statement; so *Šabb.*, I, 9 ;
Sukka, II, 1 ; III, 9 (צופה הייתי).

Ketub., II, 3 "this is our handwriting אבל אנוסים היינו קטנים
היינו . . . but we were forced, we were minors, we were dis-
qualified for evidence."

Ibid., II, 5 " if a woman says אשת איש הייתי וגרושה אני I was,
indeed, a married woman but am now divorced." VII, 10 כבורה
הייתי " I had thought " ; *Kidduš.*, II, 5 ; *Nazir*, II, 4 ; *B. Meṣ.*, I, 7 ;
Kerith., IV, 2 . . . פוטרו היה ר' יהושע אף " R. J. acquitted him
even . . ."; *Meʿila*, III, 7 נותנין היו ממנה זקנים וכהנים contradicting the
previous statement; *Para*, XII, 4. So also in BH. for the sake
of emphasis : Exod. xxvii. 1, xxviii. 16 ; Deut. ix. 7, 22, 24 ; Josh.

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 64 ; Dalman, § 65.
[2] Similarly, Dan. i. 10 ירא אני.

v. 5 ; Ezek. xvi. 22, xxvi. 13, xliv. 2 (contr. xlvi. 1); Zeph. ii. 4 ;
Ps. lxix. 9, cxxii. 2, &c. This order is also common in Aram., cf.
Dan. ii. 31, 34, iii, 8, iv, 7, 10, 12, 13, 26, vi. 2, vii. 8, &c.
(contr. ii. 20, 43, v. 19, 29, vi. 27, &c.). Ezra iv. 12, 22, v. 8,
vi. 6 (contr. vi. 9, 10, vii. 25, 26), and often in the Targumim and
in the other dialects.

The participle is sometimes used as a complement to another
verb, where we should normally expect the infinitive with ל.
Thus after התחיל, *Pesaḥ.*, I, 5 התחילו כל העם שׂורפין "all the
people began to burn"; *Ta'anith*, I, 4 התחילו היחידים מתענין
"individuals began to fast"; *Tamid*, II, 2, 3 : החלו מעלים VI,
1, 3 ; *Nega'im*, VII, 4. But also with the infin., *Šeḳal.*, I, 3 התחילו
למשכן, התחילו לשקול למשכן "they began to pay the *Šeḳel*," " they began
to seize pledges for the *Šeḳel*," and elsewhere.

The nearest approach to this use of the participle to be found in
BH. is the expression החלו כהות (1 Sam. iii. 2). Note also
אחל רש (Deut. ii. 24), אחל תת (v. 25), אחל גדלך (Joshua iii. 7).
In the Aramaic of the Targumim שָׁרֵי "to begin," is usually
construed with the infinitive with ל; cf., for example, Gen. vi. 1 ;
x. 8, and the above passages in the Targumim; but occasionally
also with the participle. So Deut. i. 5 in Onḳelos שרי משה פריש
for the Hebrew הואל ... בֵאֵר, but *Targ. Jon.* has למלפא [1]. In
Syriac, however, שֵׁרִי is regularly followed by the participle ;
cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, p. 214 (bottom, Engl. tr.).

The participle is also found after נוהגין in *Pea*, II, 4 נוהגין היו
נותנין ... to give [2]"; but *Šabb.*, I, 9 שהיו ... נוהגין
נותנין; so *Suk.*, II, 1. After נמנע, *Yebam.*, I, 3 לא נמנעו עושין [3]
"they did not shrink from preparing," beside לא נמנעו מלישא
(N. לישא); cf. also the parallel passage in *'Eduy.*, IV, 8.

After the noun דרך, *Berak.*, I, 3 בשעה שדרך בני אדם שוכבים
ובשעה שדרך ב"א עומדים "at the hour when it is the custom of
men to lie down ... to rise up [4]"; *B. Bathra*, VI, 6 ; *Sanh.*,
VII, 2 דרך כל המומתין מתודין "it is the custom of all those
about to be put to death to make a confession"; *Nidda*, II, 1.
But the infinitive with ל is more common, e.g. *Berak.*, I, 2

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[1] Cf. Levy, *Chald. WB.*, s. v. שרי.

[2] This is the reading of N. and C.

[3] But N. has לא נ' מלישׂה.

[4] For this sense of עבר in late Hebrew, cf. *LOT.*, p. 507, No. 16.

שכן דרך בני מלכים לעמוד . . . "for thus it is the custom of princes to rise up at the third hour of the day"; *Nedar.*, VIII, 5, 6, &c.

After קונם[1], *Nedar.*, I, 4 . . . ., קונם פי מדבר עמך, &c. "*Konem* that my mouth speak not with thee, that my hand work not with thee, that my foot walk not with thee," II, 2, 4; III, 2; VII, 3. Contrast II, 1 קונם שאיני ישן שאיני מדבר שאיני מהלך; III, 11, &c.

The participle is sometimes used in apposition to the subject or object with the force of a circumstantial clause. Thus :—

'Orla, II, 12 שאלתי את ר' גמליאל עומד בשער המזרח "I asked R. G. while he was standing in the East gate[2]." *Nega'im*, VII, 4 שאלתי את ר"ג ואת ר"י הולכין "I asked R. G. and R. J. while they were going[3]."

Yoma, VII, 1 וקורא עומד; *Sota*, VII, 8 וקורא יושב; *Terum.*, II, 3 המטביל כלים בשבת שוגג ישתמש בהם מזיד לא ישתמש בהם "he that bathes vessels on the Sabbath unwittingly he may use them, wittingly he must not use them"; cf. also the following clauses : *Ketub.*, IX, 6 (משמשתו נדה); *Gittin*, V, 4; *Ḥalla*, II, 3, 7 (ערומה); *Maccoth*, III, 2 (טמא); *'Ab. Z.*, IV, 10[4]; *Nega'im*, VII, 3 (מתכון); *Sifra*, 94 c (אם זינת פנויה); further, *Pea*, III, 7 הכותב נכסיו שביב מרע "if one assigns his property when ill"; *B. Ḳam.*, VIII, 6 שְׁמָרָהּ עומדת "he watched her as she was standing"; *Menaḥoth*, V, 7 טעונים סמיכה חיים ותנופה שחוטים "they require laying on the hands when alive and waving when slain." But contrast XI, 7 אוכלין אותן כשהוא חי "the Babylonians eat it raw"[5]; *Ḳidduš.*, II, 1 כשהיא נערה[6], and often elsewhere.

The same idea is expressed also with ב *essentiae* attached to the participle : בלא מתכון "when not intentional" (*'Erub.*, IV, 4); במזיר, בשוגג (*Ḳidduš.*, II, 8, &c. &c.), or by a full circumstantial clause : והם מגולים "they being uncovered" (*Ma'aseroth*, V, 2); והן נהגין זה עם זה "being uttered both together" (*Šabb.*, XII, 4; XVII, 1; *Ketub.*, VII, 8, &c.). Such a clause is sometimes attached ἀσυνδέτως : לא בזה כדי להחמין "there being in neither sufficient to cause fermentation" (*'Orla*, II, 11, 14, 15).

[1] Cf. on this word Cooke, op. cit., p. 33 f.
[2] C. actually reads והוא עומד.
[3] But N. C. read בהוילין with ב *essentiae*; cf. also *Sifra* (ed. Weiss), 61 a.
[4] According to some edd., cf. above, p. 22.
[5] Cf. Onkelos, Lev. xvi. 10 יהוקם כד הי for the Hebrew הי יעמד and often.
[6] Sirach xxx. 12 a כשהוא קטן.

Weiss (p. 89)[1] states that the participle preceded by one of the prefixed prepositions ב, כ, ל is widely used in MH. in the place of the infinitive. But this rests on a misapprehension. Forms like לדורכן, לשומרם are ordinary infinitives written *plene* = לְדָרכן, לִשְׁמרם [2]. Such forms are often found in the better texts without the vowel letter, e. g. for לשׂוחקן N. and C. have לׂשׂחקן " to wear them out" (*B. Meṣ.*, II, 8, &c.).

Forms like בעומדין, ביושבין are participles with the ב *essentiae* mentioned above : " as sitting ones," " as standing ones," i.e. " whether standing or sitting " (*Zabim*, III, 2). So also in בידוע . . . , בשאינו ידוע [3] " as known . . . as not known," i.e. " when known . . . and when not known " (*Terum.*, IV, 8). In the phrase בנותן טעם we have a standing *technical* expression to which ב has been prefixed without, however, impairing thereby the participial force of נותן. The significance of the ב varies with the context. Thus in *Ḥalla*, III, 10 בנותן טעם (אוסר) " *Tebel* renders a food prohibited by adding to it a flavour," the ב has an instrumental significance. So in *Terum.*, X, 1 ; '*Ab. Z.*, V, 8 (where it is parallel to אוסר בכל שהוא " by anything "), and *Ḥullin*, VII, 5. On the other hand in the expression אם יש בו בנותן טעם (*Nedar.*, VI, 6 ; '*Ab. Z.*, V, 2 ; and *Ḥullin*, VII, 4) the ב seems to have the force of ב *essentiae*.

The same construction is found with the *technical* and invariable expression בכונס משקה " by taking in a liquid " (*Kelim*, VIII, 2) parallel to בזיתים " (measured) by olives " and במשקים, i.e. with ב *instrumenti*. But in היו בכונס משקה (ibid., X, 8) we have the ב *essentiae* ; so, probably, in *Ohol.*, V, 2 ונקובה בכונס משקה " having a hole large enough to take in a liquid."

Similarly, *Ohol.*, XIII, 1 ff. בפותח טפח (שיעורו) " its measure is by an open space of a hand-breadth " (cf. VI, 5 ff.) with ב *instrumenti*.

In כחס (*Šabb.*, II, 5) the כ is used pleonastically ; cf. *Yadaim*, IV, 2 אתה כְּמֲהַנָּן מַמון ואין אתה אלא כְּמַפְסיר נפשות " thou art benefiting them with money but art really losing soul's " ; הרני כְּמֵשׁיב על טרפון אחי " lo, I am answering Tarphon my brother " ;

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[1] Quoted by Driver, *Tenses* [6], p. 172.

[2] Cf. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 175 ; Stein, p. 27 (3) and footnote.

[3] Or the expression is perhaps abbreviated from בוכן שירוע . . . ובומן שאינו ידוע.

so also commonly in late MH. with סבור, סבורים, &c. (*Kidd.*, III, 5);
cf. also the expression כביכול, the redundant use of the ל in לכשאפנה
(*Aboth*, II, 4), לכשתבא, לכתחלה, &c. [1]

This pleonastic use of כ is already found in BH., Ps. cv. 12
(כמעט); Lam. i. 20 (כמות); Isa. lix. 18 (כעל), &c.

Like Aram., MH. regularly combines the *partic. with* היה
whenever it desires to express the iteration of an act in
the past or in the future, or its continuity through a longer
or shorter period, the combination thus taking the place of
the frequentative and iterative uses of the old perfect con-
secutive and of the simple tenses. The construction in MH.
is, however, of native origin and not borrowed from the
Aramaic. Already in BH. the partic. is construed with the
substantive verb [2] not only when used in a quasi-nominal
capacity (e. g. Gen. iv. 2; Deut. ix. 7; Isa. iii. 7 in the
imperative; Ps. x. 14, and especially with passive participles
which are treated almost like adjectives: 1 Kings x. 9;
Deut. xxviii. 33, 34; Isa. ii. 2; Zeph. ii. 4), but also when
the partic. has a purely verbal force (e. g. of the past:
Judges i. 7; 2 Sam. iii. 7, viii. 15; Jer. xxvi. 18, 20; 2 Kings
xvii. 32, 33; of the future: Gen. i. 6; Deut. xxviii. 29 [3];
Isa. xxx. 20; with passive participles: Jer. xviii. 23; Ezek.
xliv. 2, xlvi. 1; Zech. xiii. 1). This is especially the case
in the late books. Thus Neh. i. 4, ii. 13, 15, iii. 2 b,
v. 18, vi. 14, 19, xiii. 5, 22; 2 Chron. xxx. 10; Dan. viii.
5, 7, x. 2; Esther ii. 7, 15, and with להיות (a genuine MH.
construction), i. 22, viii. 13, ix. 21. The construction may
have been even more common in the popular dialect in
which the consecutive tenses seem to have been employed
but sparingly [4]. This is supported by the special frequency
of the construction in the Memoirs of Nehemiah which,

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[1] בְּרִי (or כראי) does not belong here. The כ is a radical which suffered
aphaeresis in BH., cf. Barth, *Etymol. Studien*, p. 39.

[2] Cf. *Tenses*, § 135 (5), and, with fuller lists, Sellin, op. cit., p. 35, and
Kahan, p. 25.

[3] Note the parallels ישׁיש and הצליה.

[4] Cf. above, p. 37.

being primarily intended for private use, were but little
influenced by the literary tradition, and therefore approached
most nearly to the actually spoken Hebrew of the day.
With the complete disappearance of the consecutive perfect
in MH., and the tendency which this idiom displays to
confine the simple tenses to the expression of *single* acts in
the past and future respectively, the regular employment of
the participle as a frequentative and iterative became a
necessity. But the participle, being incapable, owing to its
nominal character, of expressing any relation of time, has
to be accompanied, wherever possible [1], by the auxiliary
verb in order to indicate the time in which the act expressed
by the participle occurs. The same construction is also
regularly employed in modern Arabic [2], and is therefore
a characteristic common to all those Semitic dialects in
a late stage of their development which had been capable
at an earlier period of developing the verbal faculty of their
participles [3]. That in none of these dialects is the con-
struction found so early and so extensively as in the Aram.,
is due simply to the fact that of all the Semitic languages
Aram. was, with the exception, perhaps, of Assyrian, the
first to reach its decline and to suffer the disintegration of
its inflexional system and its primitive syntax. It must,
of course, be conceded that the example of Aram. exercised
a potent influence upon the development of the construction
in MH.; but, on the other hand, there is no doubt whatever,
considering the BH. instances referred to above, that
Hebrew, even more than Arabic, would have developed
the construction even without any external aid whatever.
All that Aram. influence could have done was to hasten the
extension and firm establishment of an already existing
native construction to the exclusion of other and older
modes of expression.

[1] i.e. in the preterite, future and imperative, but not in the present,
e. g. כנוסין, קורין (*Berak.*, I, 1); so Ḳoh. i. 4 הולך, &c., &c.

[2] Cf. Spitta, §§ 109 e, 166.

[3] It does not occur in Ethiopic, as the participle of this language had
early become fossilized into a real noun. Cf. Dillmann, § 123.

On the other hand it is worthy of note that the tenses
are never found in MH. combined with היה as, occasionally,
in the Targumim (e. g. Gen. iv. 1 (Jon.) דהוה חמידת ; Cant.
i. 12 הוא נפק)[1], and very frequently in Syriac (Nöld., *Syr.
Gr.*, §§ 263, 268) and in Arabic (Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], II, § 3 (c));
also once in Phoenician, כן נדר (Cooke, op. cit., No. 37, l. 5),
evidently because there is nothing in BH. approaching
such a use of the tenses[2]. We see, therefore, that Aram.
was incapable of forcing upon MH. anything which was
foreign to the nature of Hebrew as exemplified in the
Biblical books.

5. THE WEAK VERBS.

Of the verbs which have a weak letter as their *first*
radical none exhibit any notable variations from the BH.
types except in the infinitive discussed above (p. 39 f.). The
inflexion of the other weak verbs also generally runs on
BH. lines even where MH. seems to differ from the normal
forms of BH. Aramaic influence is noticeable here and
there, but only as accentuating and extending forms already
existing in Hebrew. In many cases, however, MH. pursued
its own course unaffected by Aram. influence. Thus in
verbs ע″ע Aram. usually has the contracted forms, except in
the Ethpe'el[3]. The natural affinity of these verbs with
verbs ו″ע is preserved and accentuated much more strongly
in Aram. than in the other Semitic languages. BH., on the
other hand, as also the other Semitic languages, shows
a tendency to make these verbs approximate to the standard
type of the strong triliteral verb, and hence exhibits a large
number of augmented forms on the analogy of the strong
verb. This tendency is carried still further by MH. It
has indeed preserved a considerable number of biliteral

[1] Cf. Winer, § 4. 5, 1. The scarcity of this construction in the
Targumim is due to Hebrew influence.

[2] Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 122.

[3] Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 178; Winer, § 19. The augmented forms enu-
merated by Dalman (§ 71) are all much later than MH.

forms, as, e.g., חוף (> חפף), יבור (> ברר), לכוס (> כסס),
למוד (> מדד), and so exclusively in the causative stems:
לְהָקֵל ,לְהָטֵן (*Makśir.*, III, 4), הוחמו (*Šabb.*, III, 4), יוֹצֵן (*'Ab. Z.*,
III, 9), מֵיסֵב (*Sanh.*, II, 1), מֵיסֵך (*'Erub.*, X, 8) ; also in the
Niph'al : יֵחַמּוּ (*Šabb.*, III, 5), וּלִיחַם (*Kelim*, XIV, 1), נָמַקּוּ
(*Bikk.*, I, 6)[2]; but more commonly we find the triliteral
forms, e.g. רקקה (*Yebam.*, XII, 2), צְרָרָן (*B. Meṣ.*, III, 10),
לחצרון ,ימדוד (*Beṣa*, IV, 6), לגרור (*Šabb.*, XVII, 2) and so
normally in the Niph'al ; לְהִבָּלֵל (*M. Seni*, II, 5), לִיפְּזוּ
(*B. Kam.*, IX, 1), נקצוו (*Bikk.*, I, 6), נגררת ננררין (*Beṣa*, II, 10),
תִּקְּצִין (*Nid.*, II, 1), יְקָצצו (III, 5), נזקק (*Neg.*, V, 4, 5)[3]. So also
the participles of the Ḳal, which are never found with
biliteral forms. In the intensive stems, too, the triliteral
form is the regular one, as often in BH.[4], e.g. מְחַלֵּל, מְנַפֵּף,
מְזוּקָּק, מְפָרֵר. But instead of Pi'el, the Pilpel is very common :
הרהר ,מסלסל ,מקלקל, &c. The Po'el, however, is very rare
(e.g. in elevated diction : יְחוֹגֻּנוּ יסובבו, *Sota*, IX, 15)[5]. The
Hitbpo'el is found in the common word נתרועע " to become
worse " (cf. Isa. xxiv. 19), and in משתומם[6] (Isa. lix. 16). In
the perfect Hiph'il occurs the form הקלת, traditionally
pronounced הֵקַלְתָּ, for BH. הֲקִלּוֹת; cf. BH. הֵתַלְתָּ (Judges
xvi. 10). So also in the ע"ו form הֵעַרְתָּ (*Yebam.*, VII, 3) as
in BH. הֵנַפְתָּ. These forms are evidently due to the analogy
of the strong verb.

Other noteworthy points in the MH. treatment of ע"ו
verbs are the following : in the Niph'al the preformative נ
is pointed נִי, obviously through the analogy of the strong
verb, e.g. ניצוק (*Yada.*, IV, 7), ניזונת (*Ketub.*, XI, 1), נֵיעור
(*Aboth*, III, 4)[7], נילושח (*Menaḥ.*, XI, 1), נידון (*Sanh.*, VIII, 6);

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[1] With elision of the formative ה, cf. above, p. 39.

[2] השו cited by Stein (p. 39) may be from הוש (Ḳoh. ii. 25) and not
from חשש.

[3] In BH. the biliteral form only is found in the Niph'al.

[4] Ges.-K., § 67 *u*, end.

[5] A later addition not found in N.

[6] In the historical Baraitha *Ḳidduš.*, 66 a noticed above, p. 36, note 2.

[7] Cf. Zech. ii. 17, also כָּמוֹל Gen. xvii. 26 f. ; see Ges.-K., § 72 *cc*.

but also נָדוֹן (*B. Ḳam.*, II, 5; *Yada.*, IV, 3, &c.; cf. 2 Sam. xix. 10), נָלוֹו (*Kilaim*, IX, 8, BH.).

The Hiph'il imperfect אוֹבִין ('*Ab. Z.*, III, 5) seems to be a metaplastic form for אבין; cf. in BH. בוש הוביש [1]. For הוֹבִירָה " he caused it to lie fallow " (> בור, *B. Meṣ.*, IX, 3; '*Arak.*, IX, 1) both C. and N. read correctly הבירה. הושיבו (> שוב, *Tosefta Sota*, I) cited by Stein (p. 44) is no doubt a scribal error for הֵשִׁיבוּ. So אוֹחִיל (> חול, *Sifré*, Num. vi. 26) is an error for אחיל, caused by the following אוליד.

In the intensive stem occur all the three formations found in BH., thus Pil'el : עורר, נתמוטט (rather rare); Pilpel : כלכל, נמנם, מטמטם; and Pi'el proper : חִיֵּב [2] (BH.), קִיֵּם (BH., Sirach xlii. 23), כִּוֵּן, מִכַּוֵּן, וִיֵּג, מְכַוֵּן, כִּיֵּן, &c.

The last-mentioned formation is generally considered to have been borrowed by late BH. from Aramaic. But without entering upon the vexed question as to the original character of the ע"ו verbs, it must be remembered that the same formation is found in other Semitic languages also beside Aram. and late Hebrew. Why should not קִיֵּם and כִּוֵּן be just as original in Hebrew as قَوَّم in Arabic ? That earlier Hebrew possessed the power of converting the vocalic middle radical into a hard consonant is shown by the cognate nouns אָוֶן, מָוֶת, &c., and by the uncontracted verbs like עָוֵּת, עָוֵר, רָוַח which, as König shows [3], belonged originally to the same class as the contracted verbs, the hardness of the *waw* being caused by the presence of other weak letters in the root. It would therefore be but reasonable to expect that, with the gradual disappearance of the Polel conjugation and with the increasing tendency of adapting the weak verb to the standard of קטל, the Hebrew language itself and unaided should make use of its power to harden the middle radical in order to provide itself with

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[1] Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, p. 8.

[2] The Ḳal occurs in an old Mišna, *B. Ḳam.*, I, 12 and elsewhere. For the weakening of the *waw* into *yod* cf. יֹד from וִיד, &c. ; also Syriac ܩܳܐܶܡ pronounced *qayem*, and vulg. Arabic *qâyil* for *qâ'il*, *bâyi* for *bâ'i*, Spitta, § 105 e.

[3] *Lehrgebäude*, I, p. 452 f.

a Pi'el of ע״ו after the analogy of the strong verb. It may even be assumed that such forms had existed in the vernacular long before they made their appearance in literature [1], and that from the vernacular they descended directly into MH.

The close affinity between the *verbs* ל״א and *verbs* ל״ה caused already in BH. a frequent interchange of forms between these two classes and a general unsettlement of their respective types. This becomes more pronounced in MH., and so we meet with forms like קוֹרִין (but also קוּראִים) [2], מקרין (= ממרין) (Bikk., III, 7), ממרין = "to fatten," Šabb., XXIV, 3); נְשׂוּי, מָצוּי, קָרוּי, so always in the singular; לקרות [3] (Berak., I, 1), יצתה or the *forma mixta* יצאתה [4] beside יצאה, נֵיׂשֵׁת, נמצינו, מצינו, &c. The Pi'el, however, is regular מרפּאין, טמּאוּני, &c., except in the infinitive, which is generally a *forma mixta*; לְרַפֵּאוֹתוֹ, לְמַלּאוֹת (cf. Ges.-K., 74 h). Cases of ל״ה verbs taking ל״א forms are not so frequent. Examples are: the feminine of the participle Niph'al נעשׂית, נקנית [5] (= נפלאת, Deut. xxx. 11; נקראת, Megilla, I, 1, &c.), and by analogy of the partic. also the perfect נגנבת, נעשׂית = נגנבה, נעשׂתה (cf. the similarity of the perfect נִקְטְלָה in pause נִקְטָלָה to the partic. נִקְטָלָה. The tone rested probably in both cases, at least in colloquial speech, on the penultima, Ges.-K., p. 94 f. note and the reff.). Further before pronominal suffixes עֲשָׂאָן (Beṣa, III, 2), פְּרָאָן [6] (Pea, IV, 8), דחאתן (Gittin, VI, 6), &c. But it is important to remember that, in spite of the frequent interchange of forms between these two verbal classes, each of them retains, nevertheless,

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[1] König (loc. cit.) thinks that forms like עֵר had existed in the spoken language, though not in literature, before the *Polel* קוֹמֵם came into use as an intensive.

[2] Cf. קוֹרָאִים, Ps. xcix. 6.

[3] Cf. קראות, Judg. viii. 1.

[4] Probably, as Weiss (p. 39) observes, because יצאה would hardly be distinguishable in sound from יצא, as the א was not pronounced distinctly.

[5] For נקרה, נמׂשָׁה, which would normally be in MH. נִקְנָה, נִׂשֵׂה, cf. above, p. 42.

[6] C. reads פְּרָיָן.

in MH. its own particular individuality and its distinctive
characteristics. The relation of the two verbal classes to
each other remains in MH. practically the same as in BH.
and as in Assyrian and classical Arabic [1], except that in
MH. ל״ה forms predominate over ל״א forms, thus exhibiting
the beginnings of the final triumph of the ל״ה class. In
Aramaic, on the other hand, and in modern Arabic the
ל״א verbs disappear entirely, being completely absorbed
by the ל״ה class [2].

Stein (p. 49 f.) asserts that the participle Ḳal of verbs ל״ה is
sometimes formed in MH. after the Aramaic fashion with *ā* in the
first syllable. But this assertion rests on insufficient evidence. Of
the instances which he adduces, שׁפִין (*'Eduy.*, I, 8 ; cf. *'Ab. Z.*, III,
10) is from שׁוּף " to rub "; צבה (*Bekor.*, VII, 5) is an adjective
which is already found in BH. (Num. v. 21) ; so also כָּלֶה (*Terum.*,
VII, 7) and the late, though frequent, combination פָּרִין וּרְבִין " fruitful
and multiplying" may be adjectives. Note that in neither of
them is there a corresponding finite Ḳal in MH., and פרה as a
verb does not occur in MH. at all. The participle of זכה is always
זוֹכֶה, זוֹכִין, except in the legal maxim זָכִין לאדם שׁלא בפניו ואין
חבין לאדם אלא בפניו (*'Erub.*, VII, 11 ; *Gittin*, I, 6, &c.), where the
a in זכין may be due to assonance with the following חבין.

He further regards the forms העני " he became poor," מתמיה
" astonishing," and יופי " to be fair " as evidence of the existence
in MH., as in Syriac, of ל״י verbs. But העני is clearly a denomi-
native of עני, מתמיה is Hiph'il of תמה, and for יופי we ought to
read יָפֶה; cf. above, p. 27.

THE NOUN.

As in the other parts of speech so also in the treatment
of the noun, MH. followed faithfully the traditions of BH.
This is true in the main both of the formation of the noun

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[1] Cf. Ges.-K., § 75 *nn* ff. ; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.²*, § 150 ; Wright, *Arab.
Gr.³*, I, § 132, Rem. a.

[2] Cf. Dalman, § 72, 1 ; Spitta, § 130 b. In Syriac only the intensive
stem of the verb ܚܝܐ and of one or two others has preserved the original
ל״א forms. All other ל״א verbs have been absorbed by the ל״י (= ל״ה) class.
Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 177, C, Rem.

and also of its inflexion. As regards its formation, not only
has MH. retained the original forms of almost all those BH.
nouns which it still uses, but it has also formed its new
substantives on the basis of the old BH. ground-forms.
A full treatment of the subject will be found in F. Hillel's
monograph mentioned above (p. 3). It will be sufficient
for our purpose to note here only those formations which
are specially characteristic of MH., and which may help us
to ascertain its relation to BH. on the one hand and to
Aramaic on the other.

1. Verbal Nouns.

As stated above (p. 38 f.), MH. has lost the nominal
constructions of the infinitives and uses in their stead
nomina actionis corresponding to the respective verbal
stems. These are freely formed as occasion demands. We
give below a classified list of these verbal nouns.

Kal. The verbal noun of the Kal is קְטִילָה, probably the
feminine of קָטִיל, the ground-form of the abstract and infinitival
nouns קָצִיר, בָּצִיר, אָסִיף[1]. Examples: קריאה,
פתיחה, נשיכה, זריקה; טיחה, ליישה, סיכה, and in a secondary sense also as concretes:
מציאה ("finding"—a thing found), חתיכה ("cutting"—a piece),
קליפה ("peeling"—peel). So in Sirach: שקידה xxxviii. 26; גויעה
xxxviii. 16; שעיה xxxviii. 25. In BH. the form occurs as *nomen
actionis* in שריקות (Judges v. 16), אבילה (1 Kings xix. 8), שניאה
(Ps. xix. 13), שחיטה (2 Chron. xxx. 7), and in ע״י roots: קימה (Lam.
iii. 63), also ביאה (Ezek. viii. 5, concrete) and a few more. In
Aramaic, however, this form is extremely rare, occurring only in the
Jewish dialects[2], in which it is most probably borrowed from MH.
There is thus no doubt that it is a genuine Hebraic form. The fact
that in earlier BH. it occurs only in the Song of Deborah and
in the story of Elijah may, perhaps, tend to show that it was
originally a Northern dialectal form, which was only received into
the literary language after it had firmly established itself in the
spoken language, and from the latter it descended to MH.

[1] Cf. Hillel, p. 19, note 2.
[2] Cf. Dalman, p. 158, 5 and footnote.

The form is also used in MH. in abstract sense, e. g. מִיתָה "death," and the affix וּת — is sometimes added in order to strengthen its abstract character, as, e. g. פְּרִישׁוּת "separation"; נְמִילוּת חֲסָדִים "performance of kindness"; שְׁפִיכוּת דָּמִים "bloodshed"[1].

The verbal noun מַקְטָל or מָקְטָל, which is analogous to the Aramaic infinitive *Peal*, is only found in MH. in מַעַט (*Hullin*, IV, 4: *Kelim*, XVIII, 6), the other instances being BH. words: מַתָּן (*Aboth*, II, 1), מָקַּח, מַשָּׂא (ibid., IV, 22; cf. 2 Chron. xix. 7), מִמְכָּר (*Megilla*, III, 2).

[2] *Pi'el.* The verbal noun of the intensive stem is קִטּוּל (= קִיטּוּל) formed at will from any Pi'el, e. g. עֵרוּב, בִּעוּר, כָּבוּד, נִיפּוּךְ, בִּטּוּל (also concrete); of ל״ה verbs וִידּוּי, מִיחוּי, עִנּוּ, and so of ל״א roots as כִּילּוּי; ע״ו: קִיּוּם עַוּוּת; in ע״ע roots the noun assumes the form of Pilpul: דִּקְדּוּק, קִלְקוּל, בַּעְבּוּעַ, הַרְהוּר; cf. also the three Šaph'el forms peculiar to MH., שִׁעְמוּם, שִׁעְבּוּד, שִׁחְרוּר[3]. The form is sometimes used in the plural only in an abstract signification, usually of a technical nature: קִדּוּשִׁין, אֵירוּסִין ("betrothal"); נִישׂוּאִין ("marriage"); מֵיאוּנִין ("refusal" of a wife to cohabit with her husband to whom she had been married by her mother or brothers while still a minor), גֵּירוּשִׁין ("divorce"), &c. In a concrete sense the form is found in יִשּׁוּב ("a habitation, settlement"), חִפּוּי ("a covering," *Kelim*, XVI, 17), כִּסּוּי ("a lid"), טִינּוּף ("filth"), &c. In BH., too, this ground-form has generally in the singular a concrete signification : שִׁקּוּן, צִפּוּי, לִמּוּד ("disciple"); but abstract in שִׁלּוּם and the fem. שִׁלָּמָה (Ps. xci. 8), and of ע״ע root חִרְחוּר (Deut. xxviii. 52); so especially in the plural נִדּוּפִים, מִלּוּאִים, נִחוּמִים, שִׁלּוּמִים. In Sirach: חִמּוּד xiv. 14, יִסּוּר xl. 29, לִמּוּד (abstract) lxi. 28, נִסּוּי xxxi. 1, xliv. 20.

Another verbal noun belonging to this stem is the form קַטָּלָה, which is identical with the Aramaic infinitive *Pa'el*, but is used in MH. rather more as a true abstract than as a *nomen actionis*. Examples: כַּפָּרָה "atonement"; כַּוָּנָה "devotion" (direction of the mind); סַכָּנָה "danger"; קַבָּלָה "receipt"; עַבָּבָה "delay," "detention"; also as a concrete, "rim" (*Ab. Z.*, V, 1), so חֲרָרָה "biscuit."

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[1] אֲרִיסוּת cited by Hillel (p. 20) does not belong here, being a denominative of אָרִיס; so והירות of והיר, &c.

[2] The corresponding form in Syriac is ܩܽܘܛܳܠܐ, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 117.

[3] Cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., § 123.

The BH. instances are comparatively late: בקרה (Ezek. xxxiv. 12), בקשה (Esther v. 7; Ezra vii. 6), נאצה (Neh. ix. 18, 26; cf. Ezek. xxxv. 12), and נחמה (Job vi. 10; Ps. cxix. 50). It is to be observed that this form is not very frequent in MH., and that it cannot be formed at will as קְטוּל.

Hiph'il. The causative stem has two *nomina actionis*, viz. הֶקְטֵל and הַקְטָלָה. Examples of הֶקְטֵל are: הבער, הפשט, הקטר, הרגל, היתר, &c. This form is practically the old infin. Hiph'il fossilized into a noun. The traditional pronunciation with ĕ after the preformative seems to have arisen through the influence of the vowel ē of the second syllable. When followed by a genitive, however, it generally preserves, if tradition can be trusted, the old pointing; so הָגֵן החמה (Berak., I, 1; *Nidda*, IX, 9), הַשֵּׁג יד ('Arak., IV, 1; *Sifra*, fol. 24 b, c), הָשֵׁב אבדה (B. Mes., VII, 4), הַעֲרֵב שמש (*Halla*, I, 9), הַעֲלֵם שרן, &c. (*Šebu'oth*, II, 4).

Examples of הַקְטָלָה are: הבערה, הדלקה, הטמנה, הכנסה, הפסקה, הוראה, הוצאה, הוספה, הבאה; החמה, הנחה; [1] הרקדה, הרכבה, הפרשה (or הוריה), השקיה, &c., &c. With א for ה, in Aramaic fashion, we meet in אזכרה (BH.), אזהרה [2], אבעיה, and אונאה.

The form הקטלה, which is identical with the Aramaic infin. of Aph'el (Haph'el), is more common in MH. than הקטל. It is probably older than the ordinary infin. with ē (= î) in the second syllable [3]. In BH. it is found as early as Isaiah: הַכָּרָה (> הכיר) iii. 9 and הַנָּפָה (> הניף) xxx. 28. Further with א in אזכרה (Lev. ii. 2, &c.); beside הנחה (Esther ii. 8) and הצלה (iv. 14). In Sirach: השנה (xxxv. 10) and הוראה (li. 17); הצנע (xvi. 25; xxxii. 3; cf. Mic. vi. 8).

Here may be mentioned the verbal noun הִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָה, plur. השתחויות (*Tamid.*, VII, 3, &c.), which already occurs in the N. Israelitish document, 2 Kings v. 18.

That these verbal nouns are not borrowed by MH. from Aramaic is proved by their occurrence in BH., often in the older books. Their scarcity in the literary language of

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[1] This list of the form הקטלה in strong verbs, to which many more might be added, disposes of Hillel's statement (p. 37) that הקטל is generally used in strong verbs and הקטלה in weak verbs.

[2] Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, p. 41.

[3] Cp. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 73, 90.

BH. may be ascribed to the highly developed nominal constructions of the infinitive in BH. which made the use of those nouns unnecessary. In Aramaic, moreover, these forms are used as pure infinitives to express, with prefixes, the complement of another verb. MH., on the other hand, uses for this purpose the old infinitive with לְ, while these forms are employed only in a purely nominal capacity.

The *nomina agentis* with the termination ָן— may have been borrowed by MH. direct from Aramaic, and, when their form had become firmly established in the language, new nouns were formed out of Hebrew roots on the model of these naturalized foreign nouns, e. g. רַצְעָן, רַצְעָן ("saddler, shoemaker")[1], דַּרְשָׁן. On the other hand, the *denominative adjectives* terminating in ָן— may be purely Hebraic formations; examples, מַקְּבָן "shaped like a hammer," לִפְתָּן "turniplike" (> לֶפֶת), *Bekor.*, VII, 1, and the feminine, which ends in ָנִית—. Cf. the BH. לִיתָן ,נְחֻשְׁתָּן (prob.); יְדֹעוֹנִי, אַדְמוֹנִי, and the fem. רַחֲמָנִיּוּת (Lam. iv. 10). In Sirach נְבְהָן (iv. 29).

The adverbs מַעְלָן "above," מַטָּן "below" (*Zebaḥ.*, II, 2, III, 6; *Ohol.*, XII, 8, XIII, 3, and Sifra), have probably preserved the old adverbial termination[2] ָם— changed into ָן—. So also the frequent adverb לְהַלָּן (or לְהָלָן ?) "yonder, there," which in Aramaic has no final *n* except in the late Galilean dialect[3].

Here may be mentioned the *nomina agentis* of the form קָטוֹל which occur but occasionally in MH. but are so common in Aramaic under the form קָטוֹלָא, مَفْعُول[4]. The following examples of this formation occur in MH.[5]: טָחוֹן "a miller" (*Demai*, III, 5); כָּרוֹם

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 130.

[2] Cf. Ges.-K., § 100. *g, h*.

[3] Cf. Dalman, p. 102 e. In כְּתָפָן, פֵּירוּשָׁן, כְּתָפָן ('*Aboda Z.*, I, 5), quoted by Hillel (p. 43), the *n* is a pronominal suffix.

[4] Nöldeke, op. cit., § 107.

[5] Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 176, and Hillel, without mentioning Barth, p. 27 f. These forms have been misunderstood by previous writers, cf. Geiger, p. 44, 6; Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 87 (cf. ibid., 1846, col. 373); Weiss, p. 90; Siegfried and Strack, § 68 c.

" a woolcomber " (*Kelim*, XXVI, 5); plur. כָּרוֹקוֹת (ibid., XII, 2), and the following which occur in the plural only : דְּרוֹכוֹת " wine-presses " (*Terum.*, III, 4 ; cf. Isa. xvi. 10, &c.); חָבוֹרוֹת " tenants, farmers " (*Bikk.*, I, 2); מְשׁוֹחוֹת " surveyors " ('*Erub.*, IV, 11 ; *Kelim.*, XIV, 3); גְּרוֹסוֹת " gristmakers "; דִּישׁוֹשׁוֹת " groatmakers " (> רשש = דיש ; *Mo'ed Kaṭ.*, II, 5); לָקוֹחוֹת " purchasers "[1] (*Ketub.*, VIII, 1, &c.), and according to the best texts also לְעוֹזוֹת " men speaking a foreign tongue " (*Megilla*, II, 1), but note the following singular לוֹעֵז. So also always לוֹקֵחַ " a purchaser," and not לָקוֹחַ. This may perhaps be due to a deliberate change of spelling on the part of the scribes, who mistook the form לָקוֹחַ for the partic. passive לָקוּחַ.

The same form is found in the following *names of instruments* : שָׂחוֹר " a razor " (*Kelim*, XIII, 1); דָּקוֹר " a borer " (XIV, 3); מָהוֹק " an instrument for levelling a measure of grain " (XVII, 16), רָחוֹשׁ " a stew-pan " (cf. the references in the Kohut, s. v.)[2]. These forms occur already in BH., viz. יָקוֹשׁ, חָמוֹן, בָּחוֹן, אָמוֹן, רָזוֹן, עָשׁוֹק; perhaps צָרוֹף " a refiner " (Jer. vi. 29 ; cf. LXX ἀργυροκόπος) ; the feminine בְּגוֹדָה; and as a *nomen instrumenti* : תָּקוֹעַ (Ezek. vii. 14). This fact and also the rareness of the form in MH. prove conclusively that the form was not borrowed by MH. from Aramaic.

2. DIMINUTIVES.

MH. possesses a number of diminutive formations which, though not so fully and so strongly developed as in Arabic or as the secondary formations in Syriac[3], are yet sufficiently numerous and strongly marked to deserve fuller treatment than has been accorded to them by previous writers[4]. We give below classified lists of the various forms ; many of these, it must be admitted, are necessarily

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[1] The explanation of Jastrow, s. v. (so Dukes, op. cit., pp. 75, 101) will not apply to most cases where the word is used.

[2] In *Beṣa*, I, 7, cited by Hillel (p. 28 B), read עֵץ הַפָּרוּר " the wood used in the pot," i.e. the ladle ; so all the commentaries (against Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v.), cf. Raši, כף גרולה.

[3] Cf. Wright, *Arab. Gr.*[3], I, § 269 ; Nöldeke, §§ 131, 132 ; also Ges.-K., p. 250 footnote.

[4] Cf. Barth, op. cit., p. 313 f. ; Hillel, p. 45 f.

dubious, but they are sufficiently probable to deserve to be included here.

1. Diminutives formed by the insertion of the vowel *ei* (originally *ai*), or more usually its contracted form *î*, after the second radical: בודידה [1] "a little oil-press" (> בד, *Šebi̇̄ith*, VIII, 6); שומירה "a watchman's hut" (*'Erub.*, II, 5, according to N. and cod. Munich; C. has שומרה. In *B. Bathra*, IV, 8 both C. and N. have שומרה. In *Kilaim*, V, 3 both C. and N. have שומרה, but the Munich cod. reads שומירה; cf. also Maimonides and other commentaries, ad loc.). These two forms exhibit the vowel *u* after the first radical as in Arabic and in Aramaic [2]. Further, חֲפִיסָה "a small bag" (*Gittin*, III, 3; *B. Meṣ.*, I, 8; cf. the explanation in the *Gemara*, fol. 20 b : חמת קטנה); עֲרִיסָה "a cradle" (*Kelim*, XVI, 1. Contrast with ערש Deut. iii. 11. A large bed is always מטה in MH.). Perhaps כנימה "vermin" (? a collective ? *Makšir.*, VI, 1). In ע״ע roots the second radical is repeated; בדידה "a little pitcher" (*Tosefta Menaḥ.*, IX, 10); סלילה [3] "a little basket" (*'Ab. Z.*, II, 7). Cf. also בודידה (> בד) mentioned before. Further, כפיפה "a basket" (from כפף; *Terum.*, IX, 3; *Kel.*, XXVI, 1; *Sota*, II, 1); C. and cod. Munich read in both places קפיפה, which, according to Wright [4], is a diminutive of קופה. If so, the form will also exhibit reduplication, which is a further method of forming diminutives; cf. below. Reduplication also appears in חריר [5] "the eye of a needle," from the ע״ו noun חור "hole," and perhaps סליל "shuttle," from סַל [6] (*Neg.*, XI, 9). The words are probably to be pointed כְּלִיל, חֲרִיר just like the BH. זְעֵיר; so also the Aram. זליל, זלילא (Targum, Prov. xiv. 6, xii. 9, xxviii. 7).

Barth, who denies the existence of the diminutive in Hebrew, ascribes this formation in MH. to the influence

[1] This is the reading of C. and N.; cod. Munich has בודידה, evidently a corruption of בודידה. Other texts have בדידה.

[2] Wright, l. c.; Nöldeke, § 112; Barth, l. c.

[3] So N. and C. ; other texts have סלולה.

[4] op. cit., p. 167, Rem. Cf. Kohut, s. v. כפיפה.

[5] *Kelim*, XIII, 3 מחט שניטל הרירה "a needle the eyelet of which has been removed" ; של בקין שניטל הרירה "a needle of sack-makers, the eyelet of which, &c."

[6] Cf. Jastrow, s. v. Here perhaps belongs BH. אֱלִיל, a contemptuous diminutive of אל "god," or of אַל "nought."

of Aramaic. But surely the Aram. contemporary with MH. could not possibly have been conscious of the diminutive force of ܟܟܡܝܐ, ܚܝܛ[1], since it stopped short at two[1] words without extending this formation to other nouns; how then could it have influenced MH. to form about ten new diminutives? There can be no doubt whatever that this formation is genuinely Hebraic. Its use must have been confined to colloquial and familiar speech, in which diminutives abound in almost all languages. Hence its absence in the literary dialect of BH. and its occurrence in Isaiah's parody of the speech of drunkards (Isa. xxviii. 10, 13 four times) and in the deliberately familiar and condescending words which Elihu addresses to Job (Job xxxvi. 2). Elsewhere Isaiah uses the ordinary and polite form מִזְעָר (Isa. x. 25, xvi. 14, xxix. 17; also xxiv. 6).

It is noteworthy that all the MH. forms given above, with the exception of חריר, are feminines. Below we shall find this gender alone in another form expressing the diminutive. It is but natural that the feminine, being the weaker gender, should be used for that purpose. Further, the diminutive expresses either endearment or contempt, both sentiments naturally inspired by the female and not by the male sex.

2. By reduplication: בצלצול "dwarf onion" (*Kilaim*, I, 3); סמרמוט "lappet, rug" (*Šabb.*, XXI, 2, &c.); סלסלה "small basket" *Tanḥuma* to Lev. xix. 2, opposed to סל גדול below. So, as the text stands, in BH. Jer. vi. 9; cf. Raši, ad loc.). With the reduplication of the third radical only and the addition of the feminine termination תְּלוּלִית: ‎—ית‎ (plur. תלוליות)[2] "a little heap or hill" (> תל; *Ohol.*, XVI, 2); שלוליית "a pool" (ibid., XVI, 5). Further, נבשושית "a hillock, heap" (*Talm. b. Šabb.*, 73 b, probably an Aramaic word); עפרורית "a little dust" (*Talm. b. B. Bathra*, 93 b)[3].

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[1] So according to Barth, who regards ܟܝܒܠܐ as a loan-word from the Arabic.   [2] Cf. Nöldeke, § 134.

[3] Note the presence in these forms of the vowel *u*.

Several Pilpel formations may also perhaps be regarded as expressing the diminutive idea; so certainly נמנם "to doze" (cf. Levy, *Ch. WB.*, s. v. נום); לחלח or לכלך (לח <) not "to make very wet" but "to soil."

Compare further זעטוט or זאטוט "young man, student," from זוטא [1] and דגונית (or contracted to דונית) "a light fisherboat."

BH. parallels are to be found in שחרחרת (Cant. i. 6) which can only mean "blackish" = "dark"; so ירקרוקת "yellowish" = "pale" (of Esther's complexion, *Talm. b. Megilla*, 13 a). Perhaps also ירקרק, אדמדם (Lev. xiii. 42, 43 [2]), אספסוף (contemptuously, Num. xi. 4) "rabble," and פרחח (contemptuously, Job xxx. 12) "low brood"; cf. פרחי כהונה "young priests" (*Yoma*, I, 7; *Tam.*, I, 1).

3. By adding the termination —ן or —ון [3], חֲבִיּונוֹת "little jars" (חבית < *Kelim*, II, 2); שׁוּמָנִית "small kind of garlic" (שום < with the addition of the feminine termination, cf. No. 4, *Kilaim*, I, 3); perhaps also [4] קָנוֹן "a basket of reeds" (?, *Beṣa*, I, 8; *Kelim*, XVI, 3 הגדולים הק׳ הקנונים הקטנים, ניקון (!); כידון (BH.) "little (?) javelins" (*Kel.*, XI, 8). Cf. further the Aramaic נגוניתא "a little garden" (*Targ. j.*, Exod. ii. 21; *Talm. b. Berak.*, 43 b גנונית של ירק)[5]; כנונא "a portable brazier" (כנה, בן < "base of stone," so Jastrow); כנונית or כונגית "a little chamber" (כון < "to arrange" (?) *Talm. b. Ḥullin*, 56 b); כלניתא or כולניתא "little bride"—a kind of plant.

4. By adding the feminine termination —ית: נדורית "a little band" (*Sifra* בחקתי in the beginning)[6]. Perhaps also עסכית or עסיסית "pounded wheat or peas" (עסה < [7] *Tosefta Beṣa*, I, 23); דונית "a light fisherboat"; סנונית "a swallow"; כלבית "a kind of small fish"; סממית "a poisonous spider" (סם < [8] BH. שׂממית) *Talm. b. Šabb.*, 77 b.

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[1] So Jastrow. Levy identifies it with the Greek ζητητής.

[2] Cf. Ibn Ezra, ad loc. In *Neg.*, XI, 4 it is explained as an intensive.

[3] Cf. Ges.-K., § 86, 9 and footnote, and Nöldeke, § 131.

[4] Cf. Hillel, l. c.

[5] Cf. Dalman, § 30 B.

[6] So Raši to Lev. xxvi. 31 and Jastrow. But ראב״ד to the *Sifra* (l. c.) explains our word as "foundation," and this is adopted by Levy, s. v.

[7] So Jastrow, s. v.; cf., however, 'Aruch, s. v.

[8] So Jastrow, s. v.

Several BH. nouns ending in ‏ית‎— may also perhaps be regarded as diminutives, e. g. ‏צלחית‎ (2 Kings ii. 20) as compared with ‏צלחת‎ (ibid. xxi. 13 and especially 2 Chron. xxxv. 13); ‏מנקית‎ (Exod. xxv. 29, &c.); ‏שארית‎.

5. By periphrasis with ‏בן‎: ‏בן חרין‎ "a small ditch" (*B. Bathra*, VII, 4); ‏בן פטיש‎ "a small hammer," *Kelim*, XXIX, 7). Perhaps also ‏בת קול‎ "*the Bath Kol*"; cf. PH. ‏בן בקר‎, ‏בני יונה‎, &c.

3. The Plural.

The plural termination of masc. nouns is in MH. almost as often ‏ין‎— as ‏ים‎—. This is especially the case in participles. This termination is not an Aramaism. The *n* is common to nearly all Semitic languages[1], and is the only form found on the Meša' stone, though Phoenician uses only *im*. In BH. the form *in* is found pretty often[2], and as early as the Song of Deborah (‏מדין‎, Judges v. 10), and must have been more common in the spoken language than in the literary dialect. Its frequent occurrence in poetry tends to support this view. For unlike the prose writer, the poet does not easily allow himself to be fettered by convention and fixed rules; and, especially if he be a lyrical poet, as almost all Hebrew poets are, he will give expression to his feelings and thoughts in a style and in a form which are most natural to him. The poetical parts of the Bible, therefore, present in many respects a more accurate picture of the language of their time than the contemporary prose, which, we may assume, on the analogy of the literary style of other languages, had to conform to a certain standard set up by earlier writers, and to employ only the forms and expression current in the polite, but in many respects artificial, language of the educated classes. So that in the case of the plural termination also we find MH. preserving and extending a feature peculiar to the spoken language of Biblical times, as distinguished from the literary language of the Biblical books.

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[1] Cf. the table in Zimmern's *Vergl. Gr.*, p. 74.

[2] Cf. also Sirach, ‏מיליץ‎ (xvi. 15), ‏מיהופין‎, ‏בכיברין‎ (xiii. 22).

Besides the ordinary plural terminations of the feminine
וֹת— or יּוֹת—, (in case of singulars ending in ית—, גּוּת—),
a number of nouns form their plural in MH. by the
termination אוֹת—: מִקְוֶה " bath," pl. מִקְוָאוֹת (but also מִקְווֹת);
מֶרְחָץ [1] (מִשְׁתִיוֹת or) מִשְׁתְּאוֹת " a bathing establishment,"
מִשְׁתה—שְׁדראוֹת—" (שִׁזְרה or) שִׁדְרה " backbone"; מרהצאוֹת; cf. also
בִּירָאוֹת " wells " (ʾErub., III, 1), בּוּמסאוֹת (Pea, V, 8).

This termination is especially common in foreign words,
e. g. אֲמַבְּטִיָאוֹת, pl. of אמבטי " bath-tub "; אפותיקא—אפותיקאוֹת
(ὑποθήκη); איצטבא—איצטבאוֹת (στοά); גימטריא—גימטריאוֹת (γεω-
μετρία); דיוטה—דיוטאוֹת (δίαιτα); דונמא—דונמאוֹת (δεῖγμα);
טבלא—טבלאוֹת (tabula, τάβλα), &c., &c.

Luzzatto [2] explains this termination as a combination
of the Aramaic fem. plural תָא— with the Hebrew וֹת—.
Similarly Nöldeke [3], who goes further and maintains that
irregular Hebrew plurals in וֹת— of masculine nouns like
מזבחות, מקומות are also to be traced to Aramaic influence.

A far easier and more natural explanation of these MH.
plurals seems to the writer to be the following. The vowel
$\bar{a}$ was inserted before וֹת— from a desire to make these
plurals, especially those of recently acquired nouns, conform
to the standard type of feminine plurals which has the
vowel $\bar{a}$ before the termination וֹת— (e. g. מלכות, צדקות [4]), and
for the sake of euphony an א (or י) was inserted between
this vowel a and the termination to serve as bearer of the
vowel $\bar{o}$ with which the termination begins [5].

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[1] These two plurals may exhibit the return of the old third radical y,
since the א was usually pronounced as y. Cf. בקשאיה (Šebiʿith, II, 1), pl. of
מקשה = מקשאה "a cucumber field," Isa. i. 8.

[2] Orient., 1847, No. 1, col. 2. So already Salomon Levysohn in his essay
cited above, p. 3, note 2.

[3] Beiträge, &c., p. 57.

[4] Cf. the table in Ges.-K., p. 289.

[5] Though not etymologically similar, it may, nevertheless, be interesting
to compare these forms with the BH. plurals דלתאים, דיואים, דיואות
(Ps. x. 10, cf Ges.-K., § 93 x), and the MH. וּדָאין, רַשָּׁאין, רַשָּׁאין, pl. of וּדַי,
רָשַׁי (often spelt וּכאי, רשאי and וּדאי), and BH. קשואים, pl. of קשׁה
as in MH.

In MH., as in BH., the rule that the masculine forms the plural by ‏ים‎ and the feminine by ‏ות‎— holds good only in the case of adjectives and participles. In the case of nouns the exceptions are so numerous as almost to break down the rule, e. g. ‏מפתחות‎ — ‏מפתח‎; ‏חיתמות‎ — ‏חותם‎, &c., especially in nouns ending in ‏ן‎, ‏סיטון—סיטונות‎ — ‏צנון‎ "horse-radish"; ‏צנונות‎ — ‏צנון‎ ‏—ן‎ : ‏קרבנות‎, ‏שלחנות‎, "a corn merchant" (σιτώνης?); cf. also the plural of *nomina agentis* ‏דרוכות‎, ‏סרוקות‎, above, p. 63.

Conversely feminine plurals in ‏ים‎, ‏ין‎ : ‏טפה‎ — ‏טפין‎ "drop"; ‏חזרת‎ — ‏חזירין‎ "leek"; ‏כרישה — כרישין‎ "leek"; ‏קליפה — קליפין‎ "peel"; "lettuce"; ‏קישות — קישואין‎ "cucumbers"; ‏דלעת — דלועין‎ "gourd," and, of course, ‏שעורים — שעורה‎, ‏חטים — חטה‎, &c.

Note.—The BH. singular ‏אשפות‎ is only found in MH. once (*Kelim*, XXVII, 11). Elsewhere it is always ‏אשפה‎, but the plural is regularly ‏אשפתות‎, at least in earlier MH. (*Šebīith*, III, 1, 2, 3; *Ohol.*, XVIII, 8, &c.). In view of these facts Geiger's [1] ingenious explanation of MH. ‏אשפה‎ as an artificial singular derived from BH. ‏אשפות‎, which was mistaken by the Rabbis for a plural, falls to the ground. Probably the BH. ‏אשפות‎ is a secondary form, with $\bar{a}$ obscured to $\hat{o}$, of ‏אַשְׁפָּת‎, from the verb ‏יֵשֵׁפַת‎[2] with prosthetic ‏א‎, whence the plural ‏אשְׁפָּתוֹת‎ (like ‏נְמֵלִים‎). The old form ‏אַשְׁפָּת‎, however, survived in popular speech, but, the ending ‏ת‎— being mistaken by the popular mind for the old feminine termination, the word was shortened to ‏אשפה‎; but the plural ‏אשפתות‎ was already too firmly established to be changed accordingly.

4. THE DUAL.

The dual is pretty common in MH., not only in words which have the dual in BH., but also in many new formations. This is another proof that MH. and Aramaic have little in common in the sphere of strict etymology. For Aramaic, as is well known, has, with one or two exceptions, entirely lost its dual, while in MH. the dual has survived with

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[1] op. cit., p. 24. Levy (*Orient*, 1844, p. 815) regards BH. ‏אשׁוה‎ itself as pl. of the sing. ‏אשׁפה‎ and ‏אשׁפרות‎ as a double plural.

[2] Cf. the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon. s. v.

increased vitality. We give here a list of all the duals
found in the Mišna which do not occur in BH. [1]

אֲחוֹרַיִם "back" (*Kelim*, XXV, 1 f.); אֶצְבְּעַיִם "two fingers"
(*Ohol.*, XIII, 1); גַּבַּיִם "back" (*Kelim*, XXV, 5); גַּפַּיִם "wings[2]"
(*Hullin*, III, 4); טְפָחַיִם "two handbreadths" (*Menah.*, XI, 5 ;
B. Bathra, I, 1); כּוֹרַיִם "two *kors*" (*Kelim*, XV, 1); מִנְפַּיִם
"greaves" (ibid., XI, 8); מַחֲלָצִים "windlass" (*Mo'ed Kat.*, I, 10);
מִסְפָּרַיִם "scissors" (*Kelim*, XVI, 8, &c.); קַבַּיִם "two *kabs*" ('*Eduy.*,
I, 2 ; *Tamid*, III, 6); קְרָבַיִם "intestines" (ibid., IV, 2); קַרְסוּלַיִם
"ankles" (*Hullin*, III, 7); רְבְעָתַיִם "two-fourths" (*Kerith.*, I, 7);
שׁוּלַיִם "skirts" (*Kelim*, XV, 1); שִׁירַיִם "remnants" ('*Erub.*, II, 6,
&c.). Further, זַרְתַּיִם "two spans" (*Baraitha, Talm. b. Ta'anith*,
5 a) and בֵּית הַמִּטְבְּחַיִם[3] "the slaughter-house" (*Aboth*, V, 5 ; *Middoth*,
III, 5). The Aramaic בי מטבחיא must be an adaptation from
MH., as shown by the ט.

5. The Expression of the Genitive.

(*a*) *The Construct State*. The most usual and predominant
method of expressing the genitive in MH. is still by means
of the construct state. Circumlocution of the genitive is
resorted to, as a rule, only in certain cases and under
certain restrictions, viz. when the grammar or the desire
for lucidity and precision would make the employment of
the constr. st. awkward or impracticable. MH. differs in
this respect also from Aramaic. The latter, too, in the
earlier Jewish dialects, makes a most extensive use of the
constr. st. But in MH. the respective usages of the constr.
st. and of circumlocution can be classified under certain
headings and explained by certain logical and grammatical
rules ; in Aramaic, on the other hand, the two constructions
are found side by side without any apparent cause, and it

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[1] The dual is often spelt ־יֵם.

[2] i. e. the limbs on which the כנפים "the feathers" grow. Hence the
Mišna says נשהברו גפיה but נמרטו כנפיה.

[3] So according to the traditional pronunciation. Levy and Kohut
point הַמִּטְבָּחַיִם, but the form מְטַבָּה is not found elsewhere. Jastrow points
הַמִּטְבָּחַים.

depended, as it seems, entirely upon the momentary whim of the speaker or writer whether he chooses to use the one or the other [1]. Contrast Ezra v. 13 (מלכא די בבל . .) with vi. 14 (מלך פרס); Ezra v. 14 (מאניא די בית . .) with vi. 5 (מאני בית); especially in the Aram. of Daniel: Dan. ii. 19 (עבידתא די מדינת) with iv. 2, 6; ii. 49 (חזוא די ליליא) with iii. 12; iii. 1 (צלם די דהב) with iii. 5, 7, &c.: v. 5 (פס ידא) with v. 24, &c. Instances of the indiscriminate use of the two constructions in the Targumim are too numerous and too well known to require special mention here (cf. Winer, op. cit., § 56).

Though, as stated above, the constr. st. is the regular form in MH. for the expression of the genitive, it may nevertheless be useful to classify the chief cases of its use.

(1) It is used with *nomina actionis* as *regens*: מגע טרפה "the touching of a *terepha*" (*Hullin*, IV, 4); מתן סביב "sprinkling of the blood round about the altar" (*Zebah*., XIV, 10; cf. VIII, 10); מלא רחב הפרסה "the full breadth of a step."

שבירת העצם :קְטִילָה (*Pesah*., VII, 12); נטילת לולב "the taking of the palm-branch [2]" (*Megilla*, II, 5); ידיעות הטומאה "cases of knowledge of uncleanness [3]" (*Šebu'oth*, I, 1); further concrete: פתילת הבגד "the lappet of a garment" (*Šabb*., II, 3), &c.

קְטוּל :ביטול בית המדרש "the neglect of the house of study" (*Šabb*., XVI, 1); עירובי תחומין "'*Erubim* of limits" ('*Erub*., VII, 11); עינוי הדין "delay of judgment" (*Aboth*, V, 8); concrete: מיעוט הקהל "the minority of the assembly" (*Pesah*., VII, 6); כסויי הכלים "the lids of the vessels" (*Šabb*., XVII, 8); further קלקולי המים "the

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[1] It is, however, to be noted that in the Zinjirli Inscriptions the constr. st. alone is used; cf. the text in Cooke, op. cit., Nos. 61-3. On the other hand, in the Aramaic Papyri of Assuan the constr. st. is confined to "the most common words where the relation is a close and natural one" (Cowley, Introd., p. 19.

The constr. st. has been given up almost entirely by the late non-Jewish dialects of Aram., e.g. Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 205, B), the Christian Palestinian Aram. (Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, XX, p. 507, § 36), and nearly so in Mandaic (cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 221, f.).

[2] Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

[3] Cf. Lev. v. 2 f.

damaged receptacles of waters" (*Mo'ed Ḳaṭ.*, I, 3); צחצוח חרבות
" the glistening of swords" (*Sota*, VIII, 1); שחרורי עבדים " a writ
of manumission" (*Gittin*, I, 4), &c.

קַטָּלָה : תקנת המועדות " the proper arrangement of the festivals"
(*R. Hašana*, I, 3); סכנת נפשות " danger of life" (*Ḥullin*, III,
5), &c.

הֶקְטֵל : הקטר חלבים ואיברים " the burning of fats and limbs"
(*Berak.*, I, 1); הקדש טעות " devoting to the use of the sanctuary
by error" (*Nazir*, V, 1, 3); הפסד מצוה (*Aboth*, II, 1), &c.

הַקְטָלָה : הדלקת הנר " kindling of the lamp" (*Šabb.*, III, 6);
הפרשת הר סיני " the separation from Mount Sinai"[1] (*B. Ḳam.*,
V, 7); הודית המעישר " the confession of the tithe" (*Ma'aser
Šeni*, V, 15)[2]; הוריית בית דין הגדול " the decision of the Great
Court" (*Horay.*, I, 5), &c.

(2) With *nomen agentis* as *regens*: participles: חותמי ברכות
" those that close the benedictions" (*Berak.*, IX, 3); עולי בבל
" those that came up from Babylon" (*Šebi'ith*, VI, 1); מחוסר כפורים
" lacking atonement" (Hag. iii. 3); plural : מחוסרי כפורים (*Kerith.*,
II, 1); שלוחי מצוה " those sent to perform a divine commandment"
(*Sukka*, II, 4); אנוסת אביו, &c. " a woman outraged by his father"
(*Yebam.*, XI, 1). Of the form קַטָּל : חייבי חטאות " those bound to
bring a sin offering" (*Šabb.*, XI, 6); חזן הכנסת " the beadle of the
synagogue" (*Sota*, VII, 7); גבאי צדקה " collectors of alms"
(*Ḳidduš.*, IV, 5).

With these may be classed adjectives as *regens*: נקיי הדעת
" those of pure mind" (*Gittin*, IX, 8); שחורי הראש " black-headed"
(*Nedar.*, III, 8); צוערי הלוים " the youngest of the Levites"
('*Arak.*, II, 6).

Further, with nouns of the common types, as *Segolates*: קישר
כובסין " a knot of tax-gatherers" (*Šabb.*, VIII, 2); זרע קישואין
(IX, 7); צָרְכֵי המת " the requirements of the dead" (XXIII, 5);
(וָלֶד <) וְלֶד ישפחה " a forgotten sheaf[3]" (*Pea*, IV, 3); עֹמֶר השכחה
(*Ḳidduš.*, III, 12); פקק החלון ; בשר תודה (*Šabb.*, XVII, 7); טַעֲנַת
(*Horay.*, שׁגְגַת המעישה (I, 6, 7); חזקת בעולה בתולים (*Ketub.*, I, 1);
II, 3); טומאת מקדש (*Šebu'oth*, I, 3 f.); סעודת אירוסין " the meal
of betrothal" (*Pesaḥ.*, III, 7); הבורת נישם (VIII, 7); שבועת קברות

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[1] Exod. xix. 12.   [2] Deut. xxiv. 13.

[3] Deut. xxiv. 19.

(*Naz.*, IX, 3); תנחומי אבלים (*Megilla*, IV, 3); תלמוד תורה (*Pea*, I, 1); תכשיטי נשים "ornaments of women" (*Pes.*, III, 1 ; *Kelim*, XI, 6); תישמישי הכלים (*Tamid*, V, 3); רשות הרבים "a public place"; קלות ראש, גמילות חסדים, &c. &c. [1]

Numerals, with the exception of שנים, שתים, which are always in the constr. st., are generally construed in apposition to their substantives [2], but the following constructs occur in the Mišna: ארבעת (*B. Bathra*, II, 5; VI, 7); חמשת (*Nedar.*, VII, 2; *Sota*, VIII, 2); שבעת (*Bikk.*, I, 3; *Yoma*, I, 1, 2, 4), and עשרת (*Sanh.*, X, 3).

In the following passages אחת may be either in the constr. st. or in apposition: מאחת יד "from one place" (so Maimonides, *Pea*, III, 3); באחת יד "with one hand" (*Šebi'ith*, III, 9); באחת ידו "with one of his hands" (*Para*, VII, 2, 3). Elsewhere this numeral follows the noun. (Cf. Neh. iv. 11 באחת ידו, and see König, *Syntax*, p. 240, Note 2.)

The *Plural of construct combinations* [3] is generally formed by attaching the termination to the *regens*, e. g. חוטי צמר, &c. "woollen threads" (*Šabb.*, VI, 5); צורפי זהב "goldsmiths" (VIII, 4); פקיעי עמיר "bundles of sheaves" (XXIV, 2), &c., &c. Occasionally both members of the combination receive the plural termination: בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות [4] "synagogues and houses of study" (*Terum.*, XI, 10; *Pesah.*, IV, 4 and often); בתי הברים (sing. בית הבד) "wine-presses" (*Ma'as. Šeni*, III, 7); בתי נירין "meshes, slips" (בית נִיר, *Šabb.*, VII, 2); אבות בתי דינין "Chiefs of the *Beth Din*" (sing. אב בית דין, *Hagiga*, II, 2; cf. *Sanh.*, XI, 2); בתי דשנין (sing. בית הדשן, *Sifra*, fol. 9 b) "receptacles for ashes"; בעלי אימניות "artisans" (*Bikk.*, III, 3); בעלי שיבות "greyheads" (*Nedar.*, III, 8); בעלי דינין "litigants" (*Aboth*, I, 8, &c.); בעלי מומין "defective" (*Bekor.*, VII, 6, &c.); בעלי בתים "householders"

[1] It will be seen that many of these governing nouns are invariable in the constr. st., a fact which disproves the statement of Levy (*Orient*, 1884, col. 813, so Wijnkoop, *J. Q. R.*, XV, p. 44, without mentioning Levy) that the genitive of invariable nouns is expressed in MH. by circumlocution with של.

[2] But they are always placed in MH. *before* their substantives. Cf. Ges.-K., § 134 *c* and footnote 1.

[3] With the following remarks cf. Ges.-K., § 124 *p*, ff.

[4] The plural is formed from נִכְסְיָה (*Aboth*, IV, 11), and not from נֶכֶס.

(*Kelim*, XVII, 1 and often); בעלי קריין (sing. בעל קרי) [1], *Mikwaoth*, VIII, 1); ראשי חדשים (sing. ראש הדש) " New Moons " (*Pesah.*, VII, 4); ראשי שנים (*R. Hašana*, I, 1); ראשי דברים (II, 6); ערבי פסחים " Eves of the Passover " (sing. ערב פסח, *Pesah.*, IV, 1, X, 1 ; *'Eduy.*, V, 2); ערבי שבתות " Eves of the Sabbath " (*B. Meṣ.*, IV, 6); דיני ממונות " civil cases " (*Sanh.*, I, 1); דיני נפשות " capital cases[2] "; עדי נפשות " witnesses in capital cases " (ibid., I, 4, IV, 5); חייבי חטאות (*Šabb.*, XI, 6); חייבי מיתות (*Sanh.*, VII, 10); חייבי כריתות (*Makkoth*, III, 15 ; cf. *Kerith.*, VI, 4); contrast חייבי עולה (*Temura*, V, 1); נטי נשים " bills of divorce " (sing. נט אישה); שחרורי עבדים " bills of manumission " (*Gittin*, I, 4 and often).

On the other hand, a number of combinations with בית as *regens* attach the plural sign to the *rectum*[3]: בית המישתאות " banqueting houses " (*Sota*, IX, 11); בית הבדין " wine-presses " (*B. Bathra*, III, 1); בית האצבעות (טהורות) " gloves " (*Kelim.*, XXVI, 3); בית פרסות (sing. בית פרס) " a field declared unclean owing to bones having been carried over it from a ploughed grave " (*Ohol.*, XVIII, 2); בית הקמטים, בית הסתרים (אינן צריכים) " folds and hidden parts of the body " (*Mikwaoth*, VIII, 5); מטמאין (. . . בית הטומאות) (*Nidda*, VII, 4); בית השווקים " market-places " (*Makširin*, VI, 2).

So also with regard to the other rules and idioms peculiar to the constr. st., MH. agrees almost in every respect with BH. There is, therefore, no need to recapitulate them here. The following points, however, may be noted :—

The construct before a relative clause is not found in MH. except in the case of a number of nouns, the construct form of which has become stereotyped in certain connexions; hence we get the following combinations: אף על פי ש— " although "; בזמן ש— " when "; כדי ש— " in order that "; כלפי ש— [4] " in respect to "; מפני ש— " because "; משום ש— " because "; על מנת ש— " on condition that." and שם ש— " because "

So the noun חזקה " state, assumption," which is very common in the constr. st. before a noun (e. g. *Ketub.*, I, 6, 7 ; *Nazir*, IX, 2 ;

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[1] Cf. Deut. xxiii. 11.

[2] Contrast *Targ. j.*, Num. xv. 34 ; xxvii. 5 דיני כמינא but דיני נַפְשָׁתָא.

[3] Cf. Hillel, p. 47 ; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 141.

[4] Construct of אֲפֵם. The כ is redundant, cf. above. p. 51 f.

B. Bathra, III, 1 f., &c., &c.), is also found in the construct before a relative clause: בחזקת שהוא קיים "on the assumption that he is alive" (*Gittin,* III, 3, 7, 8; cf. III. 4); בחזקת שנתן, בחזקת שלא נתן "on the assumption that he has given, . . . that he has not given" (*B. Bathra,* I, 4); בחזקת שלא נפדה (*Bekor.,* VIII, 6). So in *Tamid,* III, 3, after five cases of the construct לשכת before nouns, we get by analogy לשכת שהיו עושין, &c.

Two instances only have been found by the writer of a construct before a preposition, viz.: בהולכי לבית המדרש [1] (*Aboth,* V, 14), and *Mekilta,* fol. 61 b לעולי לכרמי מלכים. This is the more unnecessary since the MH. construct may regularly have the force of a preposition; cf. מהלכי שתים "bipeds" (= על, *Bikk.,* II, 3; *Sifra,* fol. 48 d); פסולי עדות "disqualified for evidence" (= ל-; cf. the phrase פסול לעדות, *Ketub.,* II, 1); יוצאי מצרים (*Nedar.,* III, 2); יורדי הים [2] (III, 6).

(*b*) *Circumlocution of the Genitive.* The restrictions which the constr. st. by its peculiar nature, its inflexi-bility and awkwardness imposes upon the language must have been felt keenly by the Semitic dialects. Add to this the fact that in the many nouns which are invariable (and in dialects with a poorly developed vowel-system almost all nouns are invariable), the constr. st. lost even its outward semblance of an inflexional distinction, leaving thus the relation existing between the nouns ambiguous and uncertain, and it will be easy to understand the necessity felt by the Semitic dialects of devising some new means for expressing the genitive relation [3]. Being

[1] So N. and other edd.; C., however, has בְּהוֹלְכֵי ביהמ״ר. Cf. Ges.-K., § 130 *a* f.; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.,* § 206.

[2] Cf. Ps. cvii. 23. In BH. this construction is confined to the poetical style, Ges.-K., § 116 *h.*

[3] Kautzsch (*Bib. Aram.,* § 81, footnote) ascribes the origin of the circum-locution of the genitive to the desire of making the *regens* definite. But it is evident that this desire was only one of the many causes at work, since circumlocution is very common in languages like Assyrian and Ethiopic, which do not possess the article or its equivalent. Further, we have cases in Hebrew where circumlocution was chosen for the special purpose of leaving the nouns *indefinite,* e. g. 1 Sam. xvi. 18 בֵּן לישׁי, 1 Kings ii. 39 עברים לשמעי, cf. Ges.-K., § 129 *c.*

no longer capable of producing any internal or inflexional change in the nouns concerned, they had to fall back upon a periphrasis of the genitive. This they did by inserting a particle between the two nouns. In the selection of this particle the Semitic languages divide themselves into two groups. Those languages in which the period of decay set in early in their history, when their mode of thought was still of a primitive nature, viz. the Assyrian, the Aramaic·dialects, and the Ethiopic, selected for this periphrasis the *demonstrative particle*, which had already come into use as a connecting link in the form of a relative : Assyrian *ša*, Aramaic 'ן, 'ך, and finally ־ך, -ﬞ, Ethiopic H (ﬞ) [1]. Thus in ביתא די מלכא (*domus iste rex*) the particle די merely points out that there is a connexion between the two nouns without attempting in the least to indicate explicitly what that connexion is. Convention alone determined that the connexion should be understood as that of the genitive relation, just as it was convention alone that determined the relation of a clause introduced by the same particle to the principle clause of the sentence[2]. The particle thus used as a genitive did, therefore, as much as the older constr. st. For the latter did no more, at least in historical times, than merely indicate by its juxtaposition with the *rectum* and its hurried pronunciation, often producing a vocalic change, that some kind of connexion existed between the two nouns, which connexion was commonly understood to be that of the genitive.

Those Semitic languages, however, which had been endowed with greater vitality, and did not feel the need for a substitute for the constr. st. till a comparatively late period in their development, viz. Arabic, Hebrew, and

[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*[2], § 84 a ; Dillmann, *Eth. Gr.*[2], §§ 145. 6, 186. ⋂ (ﬞ) in simple circumlocution is rare in Ethiopic, and only when the relation may also be conceived as that of the dative (Dillmann. § 145, 6 . Amharic expresses the genitive exclusively by circumlocution with ε (ﬞ; a weakened form of H (ibid., p. 289, footnote).

[2] Cf. Ges.-K., § 138 a.

Phoenician, could not when that need arose be satisfied
with the primitive method adopted by the first group.
It was found necessary to indicate quite clearly the relation
subsisting between the noun and its genitive. Classical
Arabic, with its highly developed inflexional system in
which, moreover, annexion had been fortified by a real
genitive termination attached to the *rectum*, seems to have
never experienced any real need for a substitute to this
construction. Only occasionally do we find the genitive
of material expressed by circumlocution with مِنْ [1]. But
Modern Arabic, in consequence of the loss or confusion of
the old case-endings, has felt itself compelled to devise
some periphrasis of the genitive. In the Egyptian Arabic
annexion is being supplanted by a circumlocution which
is expressed by placing the noun *betā‘* (" property,
possession ") between the *regens* and *rectum*, where it
signifies " peculiar to," " belonging to." It stands in appo-
sition to the *regens* and in constr. st. to the *rectum*, the
latter being thus governed by it and subordinated to it as
its genitive [2].

In Hebrew circumlocution of the genitive is expressed
by the preposition לְ " belonging to," and the construction
is exactly the same as in Modern Arabic. Thus in מִזְמוֹר
רוּחוֹת לְכָל בָּשָׂר or לְדָוִד the לְ stands in apposition to מִזְמוֹר
and רוּחוֹת, while דָוִד and כָל בָּשָׂר are governed by and
subordinated to the preposition as its genitive [3]. This
primitive construction, however, of simple apposition
between the *regens* and the preposition had to give way
in this case, as also in other cases, to a smoother and more
logical construction [4], in which the connexion between the
regens and the preposition was specified by the originally
demonstrative link אֲשֶׁר, so that the determining words

[1] Wright, *Arab. Gr.*[3], II. § 48 (9). The constructions with ل enumerated
ibid., § 53 (*b*) are real datives.

[2] Cf. Spitta, §§ 77 c, 119 a ff., 120 c, also Gesenius, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 672 f.

[3] Cf. Wright, op. cit, I, § 355, and Ges.-K., § 101.

[4] Cf. *Tenses*[3], p. 246.

were practically placed in a relative clause, e. g. הפלנשים
כנף המעיל אשר לשאול, אשר לאברהם.

The colloquial form of אשר ל— was שֶׁ־ל¹, a form which
found its way also into the literature². From שֶׁל to the
formation of an independent particle שֶׁל is but an easy and
natural step, and thus arose the genitive particle שֶׁל which
in MH. is the only means for expressing circumlocution of
the genitive, but which must have existed in popular
speech long before it was reluctantly admitted into the
literary dialect of BH.

So in Phoenician the periphrasis of the genitive is
effected by prefixing ל to the *rectum*, and then by אשל—
(= אשר ל—) and finally by של. Only in very late times,
under the overpowering influence of Aramaic, against
which it was apparently more powerless than MH.,
Phoenician often uses for the genitive simply שֶׁ־³.

The foregoing remarks prove conclusively that the MH.
circumlocution of the genitive with של is an original
Hebrew construction, and not an adaptation of the Aramaic
circumlocution with די. For the two particles differ most
essentially and radically. די indicates some vague connexion
between the two nouns which it joins together, while של
expresses explicitly and with precision the relation existing
between them. של is not the equivalent, much less the
translation of די. It says a great deal more than די and
has had an entirely different history and development.
Neither has של any connexion with the Aramaic hypo-
thetical דיל. דיל is never used without either the prefix ב—
or the pronominal suffixes, while של is extensively used

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¹ Cf. above, p. 13 f.

² Cant. iii. 7; cf. 2 Kings vi. 11, Cant. viii. 12, and Jonah i. 12.

³ Cf. Schröder, *Phoen. Sp.*, §§ 68, 69 and 82, 83. Instances in BH. of
the use of אשר alone to express the circumlocution of the genitive seem to
occur in 1 Sam. xiii. 8, 1 Kings xi. 25, 2 Kings xxv. 10 (cf. Jer. lii. 14),
and 2 Ch. xxxiv. 22. But most probably the text in all these passages is
at fault. Cf. Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, p. 746 note, the Oxford Lexicon, p. 83, and
König, *Syntax*, § 283.

when standing alone. It would, perhaps, be more correct
to say that דיל was influenced by יׁשל. דיל״, &c., is only used
exclusively in Syriac. In the non-Jewish Palestinian
dialects of Aramaic דידי (=די+ידי) only is found [1]. In the
Targumim and in the Aramaic of the Talmud both דיל and
דידי are found, but the latter more frequently. Only
Onḳelos, who is noted for his Hebraizing tendencies uses
דיל exclusively, most probably because the author, or
authors, of this Targum spoke MH. Moreover, the
Targumim actually use דׁל = ׁשל to express the circum-
locution of the genitive where the Hebrew text has —ל אׁשר,
instead of simple די, —ד, e.g. Gen. xxv. 6 דלאברהם, xxix. 9
דלאבוה, xlvii. 4 דלעבדך (Onḳ.; j. די לעבדך); Exod. xxix. 26
דלאהרן (j., Onḳ.; די לאהרן), xxvi. 29 both דלאהרן; Lev. ix. 15,
xvi. 15 דלעמא, &c. &c.

Circumlocution with simple ל, though very common in
BH.[2], is extremely rare in MH., and generally only when
the ל may also be construed as ל of the dative or of
reference[3]. The following is a fairly exhaustive list of
these constructions in the Mišna :—

Pea, II, 6 הלכה למיׁשה מסיני (perhaps sc. : נתונה למ').

Pesaḥ., I, 1 אור לי״ד " the eve[4] of the fourteenth "; so *Kerith.*
אור לפ״א המפלת; but the parallel passage in ʽ*Eduy.* has פ״א אור.

R. Hašana, I, 1 ראׁש הׁשנה למלכים, &c.; *B. Meṣ.*, V, 1 תחלה
לקוצרים; *Sanh.*, VIII, 5 ביגום לרׁשעים, &c.; *Aboth*, IV, 2 זנב
לאריות, &c.; *Menaḥ.*, VI, 3, X, 6, &c. קודם לעׁשיתן; but the ל may
be here a sign of the accusative; cf. *Kerith.*, VI, 8 קודם אֶת האב.

Menaḥ., VIII, 1, 3, 6 אלכׁפא לסולת, &c. " ἄλφα (=the first, best
of) fine flour "; *Temura*, I, 1 מתנה לכהן (perh. sc. נתונה לכ', but
cf. the common phrase מַתְּנוֹת כהונה); *Kelim*, XVII, 11 ידות כיב'
לכבר מנ' לקב " two parts of a loaf, which loaf is a third of a
Ḳab[5] "; *Zabim*, I, 2 ביׁם הׁשליׁשי לספירת זובו.

[1] Cf. Dalman, p. 118, 4.   [2] Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 280 f.
[3] As in Ethiopic, cf. above, p. 76, note 1.   [4] Cf. the Aram. אירהא.
[5] For the peculiar use of ב cf. *B. Meṣ.*, VIII. 9 ; *Menaḥ.*, IX. 3 ; *Para*, I, 1.
So in Syriac, Matt. xx. 2 : ܡܢ ܡܥ ܦܥܠ in the Pešitta.

Mekilta, fol. 57 a ריע למקום, חבר למקום (contrast *Sifra*, fol. 20 a
שביעית למבירה ולא שביעית לשנים e 75 ibid., fol. ;(רע יֵל אל.

Sifrê, fol. 3 a קדש לבעלים; and perhaps a few more cases in the
Midrašim; elsewhere שֵׁל is used, but never אישר ל— [1].

Circumlocution in MH., as stated above (p. 70), is not
used with the indiscrimination and arbitrariness which
characterize Jewish Aramaic, Vulgar Arabic, Ethiopic, and
Assyrian. It is possible, just as in BH., to tabulate the
usages of circumlocution in the Mišna and reduce them
to certain rules. But it must be admitted that in later
Rabbinic style, especially in the Haggada which is couched
in a popular and Aramaizing language, the use of the
circumlocution, especially with the anticipation of the
genitive by a pronominal suffix, approaches more and
more the looseness and arbitrariness of other dialects [2].

The following are the principal cases where simple
circumlocution is used [3] :—

(1) To express the *genitive of material*, in which case שֵׁל has
the force of " belonging to the *genus* of." This construction is not
found in BH.[4], but is regular in the Targum (e. g. Gen. xxiv. 21,
53; Exod. ii. 2, 4 (but contrast vers. 21, 22), &c., also Dan. v. 7)[5].
Arabic, too, often expresses this genitive by circumlocution with
مِنْ (cf. above, p. 77).

Examples: *Yoma*, III, 4 סדין שֵׁל בוץ; *Sukka*, IV, 10 חבית
שֵׁל זהב. So also sometimes to express a quality: ירק שֵׁל תרומה
'*Eduy*., II, 2, 4 and often with תרומה as genitive. There are,
however, some exceptions. Thus the frequent noun כלי always
takes its material in the constr. st.; so also בזיכי " spoons " (*Pesaḥ*.,

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[1] The citation by Siegfried and Strack (§ 72 b) of the phrase דעתו לשמים
as an example of the genitive with ל rests upon an oversight. The
phrase does not mean " die Erkenntniss Gottes " (sic!) but " his mind,
or intention, directed towards Heaven." So לבו לשמים, *Sanh*., fol. 61 b
(bottom).

[2] Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 280 ff.

[3] We must refrain, owing to want of space, from giving exhaustive
lists of references.

[4] But cf. Lev. xiii. 48; Ezra i. 11.

[5] Cf. Kautzsch, *Gr. d. Bib.-Aram.*, § 81 c.

V, 5); כֵּן "base" (*Yoma*, V, 2); מַחְתַּת הַכֶּסֶף (*Tamid*, I, 4, V, 5. These sections, however, belong to the older strata in the Mišna).

(2) When there are more than one *regens* dependent upon one *rectum*; *Ma'aseroth*, I, 7 תְּאֵנִים וַעֲנָבִים שֶׁל טֶבֶל; cf. *Terum.*, XI, 4; *R. Hašana*, IV, 6; *B. Meṣ.*, X, 1 f., &c. Cf. in BH. Gen. xl. 5; Exod. xiv. 28; 2 Kings xi. 10.

(3) When the *regens* consists of a construct combination in which the second member is inseparable from the first. *Demai*, מַעֲשַׂר־עָנִי שֶׁל דְּמַאי; תְּרוּמַת־מַעֲשֵׂר שֶׁל דְּמַאי 3, 4 ,IV; IV, 1 (&c.) *Šebi'ith*, I, 2, &c., &c.

Conversely when the *rectum* is made up of such a compound expression: *Šabb.*, XX, 5 מִכְבָּשׁ שֶׁל בַּעֲלֵי־בָתִּים; *B. Ḳam.*, I, 2 נְכָסִים שֶׁל בְּנֵי־בְרִית, &c., &c. Or when both *regens* and *rectum* consist of compound expressions: *'Erub.*, VIII, 4 תְּפִיסַת־יָד שֶׁל; בַּעַל־הַבַּיִת; *Yoma*, III, 2 כְּלֵי־יְרוֹת־הַכֵּלִים שֶׁל יוֹם־הַכִּפּוּרִים, &c.

There are, of course, numerous exceptions to this rule, e. g. שִׂמְחַת בֵּית־הַשׁוֹאֵבָה, *Sukka*, V, 1; cf. V, 3, &c., &c.

Cf. in BH. Gen. xxv. 6 (לִבְנֵי־הַפִּלַגְשִׁים אֲשֶׁר לְאַבְרָהָם); Num. xvi. 22, xxxi. 48; Judges vi. 25, xviii. 28. (See for further examples König, *Syntax*, §§ 281 l–m, 282 e, f, and cf. also Dillmann, op. cit., § 186.)

(4) When an adjective intervenes between *regens* and *rectum*: *Yoma*, V, 6 לֵילֵי יוֹם טוֹב; יְסוֹד מַעֲרָבִי שֶׁל מִזְבַּח הַחִיצוֹן *Sukka*, II, 6; רָאשׁוֹן שֶׁל חַג, &c., &c. So with numerals: *Demai*, VII, 8 עֶשֶׂר שׁוּרוֹת שֶׁל עֶשֶׂר עֶשֶׂר כַּדֵּי יַיִן "ten rows of ten wine-jars each"; *'Arakin*, IX, 6 שׁוּרָה; ג' חֲצֵרוֹת שֶׁל שְׁנֵי [1] שְׁנֵי בָתִּים; *Kilaim*, IV, 5 שֶׁל חֲמִשָּׁה נְפָנִים; *Pesaḥ.*, VIII, 1 עֶבֶד שֶׁל שְׁנֵי שׁוּתָּפִין; *Nedar.*, VIII, 7 בֶּן אֶחָד, &c., &c. Cf. in BH. 1 Sam. xxii. 20 (כּוּר אֶחָד שֶׁל חִטִּים (לְאֲחִימֶלֶךְ); Ezek. xl. 40 b; so in Assyrian (Delitzsch, § 166, 2) and Ethiopic (Dillmann, § 186).

(5) Circumlocution is generally used with nouns borrowed from other languages, including Aramaic, since the language was no longer able to assimilate them so thoroughly as to inflect them like native words: *Kidduš.*, IV, 5 אִיסְטְרַטְיָא שֶׁל מֶלֶךְ "the King's στρατιά"; *'Ab. Z.*, II, 1 פּוּנְדְּקָאוֹת שֶׁל עַכּוּ"ם "the πανδοκεῖα of the heathen"; IV, 6 בִּימוּסִיָאוֹת שֶׁל מְלָכִים [2], &c. &c.

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[1] The numeral repeated in a distributive sense. Note the *suspended* construct.   [2] Cf. Jastrow, s. v.

(6) Generally circumlocution is used when for one reason or another the *regens* or *rectum* is to be emphasized, as when a noun is used in a secondary or derived sense [1], e.g. *Kelim*, XIII, 1 זוג של סַפָּרִים "shears of barbers" (זוג־ספרים may mean "a pair of barbers"); XIII, 2 השן של מעדר "the tooth of a mattock," &c., or in enumerating many cases which either agree or differ from one another: *Kelim*, XIII, 6 (טבעת של מתכת . . . . טבעת של מתכת); XIII, 8 (מסרק של פשתן . . , ושל צמר); XIV, 8; XV, 2; XXIII, 2, 4; XXIX, 4–6, &c., &c.

Cf. in BH. 2 Sam. iii. 2–3 (לאביגיל, לאחינעם).

(c) *Circumlocution with Anticipation.* The circumlocutory genitive is often anticipated in MH., as in Aramaic, by a possessive suffix attached to the *regens*, e.g. שלוחו של אדם "a man's messenger." The construction is only found as a rule in cases of true (possessive) genitives [2], but in the following passages it is used also with the objective genitive of *nomina actionis*:

Šebi'ith, II, 3 כזירודה וכפיסולה של חמשית כך של ששית "just like the thinning and trimming of the fifth so of the sixth."

Yoma, VII, 2 הפשיטן וניתוחן של אלו "the flaying and cutting up of these."

Yebam., XI, 7 על מכתו ועל קללתו של זה ושל זה "for the striking and cursing this one and that one."

The construction is only employed when the *regens* is a flexible noun, which is elsewhere found in the constr. st., as otherwise it could not take the suffix. Generally the construction has an emphatic force, laying a certain stress on the *regens*, the *rectum*, or on both, or on the connecting particle. Frequently, however, it is used without any apparent emphasis in familiar and colloquial language, especially in the Haggadic style, which should be attributed to Aramaic influence. (Cf. above, p. 80.)

The genitive is almost always determinate in one of the following ways: by a suffix (e.g. תבואתו של חברו, *Kila.*, VII,

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[1] Cf. below, p. 87.
[2] So regularly in Syriac, Nöldeke, § 205, C.

4); by being a proper noun (e.g. *Aboth*, I, 12 תלמידיו של
(אהרן); or, very frequently, a demonstrative (cf. the examples
cited above from *Yoma*, VII, 2 ; *Yebam.*, XI, 7); by having
been mentioned before ; by being well known generally or
only in connexion with the subject treated in the context.
But it *never* takes the article except in such stereotyped
phrases as הקדוש ברוך הוא, בעל הבית and עם הארץ, which are
never found without the article. Very instructive are the
following passages, in which the genitive is mentioned
before with the article, but the article is dropped as soon
as the noun stands in this construction: *Šabb.*, I, 1 (עני) ;
Yebam., VII, 3 (עובר) ; *Nedar.*, VII, 5 (עיר); *Sota*, VIII, 8
(עם); *B. Bathra*, IV, 4 (חצר); *Šebu'oth*, I, 7 (פר); *Menaḥ.*,
XI, 5 (שלחן); *Ohol.*, II, 1 (מת) ; *Neg.*, XIV, 1 (מצורע).
Evidently the genitive was regarded as having been
determined by the suffix of the *regens*, and therefore could
as little take the article as if the suffix had been attached
to itself. Hence in Ethiopic, which has no article, this
construction is used regularly and most extensively for the
purpose of rendering a noun definite (cf. Dillmann, § 172 c).
In Aramaic, however, the genitive is always in the *emphatic*
state ; cf. Dan. ii. 20, 44, iii. 26, and so in the Targumim.

The idiom of anticipation is not confined to the genitive.
It occurs also in other cases when a noun is introduced by
a preposition.

Thus with על, e.g. אמרו עליו על רחב"ד (*Berak.*, V, 5).

With ל: ל אמרו לו לר"נ ('*Erub.*, IV, 2 ; *Aboth*, II, 3, 8 ;
Middoth, IV, 2 היו לו לשער)[1]. So usually with דַיּוֹ לְבָא דַי:
מן הדין להיות כנדון "sufficient for the law derived by the
conclusion *ad majus* to be like the law from which it is
derived" (*B. Ḳam.*, II, 5 ; *Nidda*, IV, 6) ; דַיָם לישראל "it
is enough for Israel" (*Mekilta*, fol. 3 a) ; דַיּוֹ לעבד להיות כרבו
"sufficient for the slave to be like his master" (*Sifra*,
fol. 108 b and often).

[1] In *Nedar.*, III, 11, N. and C. omit לו before משה. כיה אכפה לרן לעכברים
(*B. Meṣ.*, III, 7) is a semi-Aramaic phrase.

With בּ: only in the phrase בּוֹ בַיּוֹם "on the same day[1]" (*Šabb.*, I, 4, &c.). With מִן: לֹא כָל הֵימֶנּוּ מִן הָרִאשׁוֹן "every-thing does not depend on him, even on the first[2]" (*Gittin*, VIII, 8; cf. *B. Ḳam.*, X, 2).

Anticipation of the subject by הוא is found in the follow-ing passages in the Mišna: *Bikk.*, III, 6 (עוֹרֵיהוּ הסל); *Pesaḥ.*, IX, 10 (שֶׁלָּנוּ הוּא הפסח, &c.); *Yebam.*, XVI, 1 (מעוברת היא צרתה); *Aboth*, II, 14, 16; *Para*, X, 5, XII, 5[3].

This idiom of anticipation is not, however, peculiar to MH. and to Aramaic.

There are very many examples of it in BH. Thus: *anticipation of the subject* by הוא, as in אחת היא יונתי (Cant. vi. 8, &c.). See Driver's *Tenses*, § 201, for a full treatment of this particular construction.

Anticipation of the genitive occurs in BH. in the follow-ing passages :—

(1) Before the construct state: Jer. lii. 20 (לנחשׁתם כל הכלים). In the parallel passage, 2 Kings xxv. 16, the suffix is indeed omitted, but it is attested here by the Ancient Versions, which, however, omit the following genitive); Ezek. x. 2 לארבעתם מֹהֹקִצְעֹוֹת xlvi. 22; בבאם הכהנים xlii. 14; בבֹאוֹ האישׁ (but the genitive, which is diacritically pointed by the Massora, should probably be omitted as in the Versions); Job נפשׁו עצל Prov. xiii. 4; דרכם כסל למו (?); Ps. xlix. 14 כתבם המתיחשׂים; Ezra ii. 62 ‖ Neh. vii. 64 בהֹלּוֹ נרו xxiii. 9; לתולדותם ראשׁי 1 Chron. vii. 9; ביסדו זה הבית Ezra iii. 12 (?).

In סעיפיה Isa. xvii. 6 the ה should probably be attached to the following genitive: הפוריה; so in Prov. xiv. 13 read: ואחרית השמחה.

(2) Before a genitive introduced by לֹ; Num. i. 21–43 פקדיהם למטה ...; Ezra ix. 1 כתועבתיהם לכנעני ..., ; 2 Chron. xxxi. 18 לכל קהל ... טפם; cf. also 1 Chron. iv. 33 והתיחשם להם, vii. 4 לתולדותם לבית (?).

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[1] Cf. Dan. iii. 6-8, 15; v. 11; Ezra v. 3 (בַּה וּכְנֵא); see Kautzsch, op. cit., § 88.

[2] C. has wrongly הימנה. N. is corrupt.

[3] Cf. the quotation above, p. 47.

Anticipation of the accusative: Exod. ii. 6 ‎.. את‎ ‎ותראהו‎;
Deut. iii. 14 ‎.. את...‎ ‎ויקרא אתם‎ (cf. Driver, ad loc.); 1 Kings
xix. 21 ‎בשלם הבשר‎; xxi. 13 ‎את נבות‎ ‎..‎ ‎ויעידהו‎; 2 Kings xvi.
15 ‎.. את‎ ‎ויצוהו‎ (Kethîb); Jer. xix. 14 ‎מאכילם את העם‎; Ps. lxiii.
12; 1 Chron. v. 26 [1] ‎להנדור‎ ‎..‎ ‎ויחלקם‎; xxiii. 6 ‎להנדור‎, ‎וינלם לראובני‎;
2 Chron. xxv. 5 ‎לבית‎ ‎..‎ ‎ויעמידם‎, v. 10 ‎להנדור‎ ‎..‎ ‎ויבדילם‎.

The above lists, supplemented by the references given in
Driver's *Tenses*, § 201, containing passages drawn from all
parts of BH., prose and poetry, early and late, will have
made it abundantly clear that the anticipation of a following
noun by a preceding pronoun or pronominal suffix is a
genuine Hebrew idiom and not an Aramaism. The idiom
is, moreover, extremely common in Assyrian before a
genitive introduced by *ša*. The genitive so introduced
may even precede the *regens* with the attached suffix
(Delitzsch, § 166, 3). It is also widely used in Ethiopic
whenever the noun is to be conceived as determinate both
in the genitive and in the accusative, the particle introducing
the noun being always ∩ (ለ) even with the genitive, and
not ዘ (ዘ) as in simple circumlocution (cf. Dillmann, § 172 c).
It follows, therefore, that the anticipatory constructions in
MH. are of native origin and not borrowed from the
Aramaic, though the latter may have exercised some
influence upon their usage.

It may be remarked that the idiom appears to be in
its origin a colloquialism, one might almost say, a vulgarism,
implying a lack of precision in thought and in expression.
The speaker at first deems it sufficient to refer to the noun
by means of a pronoun or more commonly a pronominal
suffix, but recollecting that the hearer may be in doubt
to whom the suffix refers, he adds as an afterthought
a clause containing the real name of the person or thing
which he has in his mind. The noun being thus expressed
twice became emphatic; gradually the idiom began to be
used more frequently, and then regularly whenever any

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[1] Cf. Driver, *LOT.*, p. 538, No. 39.

stress was to be laid upon a noun, and, in the course of time, even where no emphasis was intended. Being thus essentially a popular construction, it may be assumed to have been even more common in the popular dialect of Biblical times[1] than in the literary language, and from the old colloquial Hebrew it descended into MH.

In about forty passages in the Mišna and frequently in the Midrašim circumlocution by של with the appropriate suffix is found in the place of the possessive suffix attached immediately to the noun itself. This construction is used (*a*) on grounds of grammar, where, namely, the noun cannot take the suffix through being indeclinable or consisting of a compound expression, and (*b*) on grounds of style, where it is desirable to leave the noun unchanged for the sake of lucidity or emphasis.

(*a*) On grounds of grammar :

1. Compound expressions which form standing phrases and are thus inseparable : *Maʿas. Šeni*, III, 6 (מעשר שני שלהם) ; *Yoma*, VIII, 6 ; *Ḥullin*, II, 7 (חצר־כבד שלו) ; *Megilla*, IV, 8 ; *B. Ḳam.*, VIII, 1 ; *B. Meṣ.*, VII, 2 ; *ʿEduy.*, III, 5 ; *Kerith.*, I, 2 (לא הורע שלהן "; cf. Lev. iv. 28) ; *Mekilta*, fol. 28 a, b, 56 a ; *Sifra*, fol. 50 a (סימני־טהרה שלו).

2. A composite subject : *Šabb.*, VI, 8 (כסא וסמובות שלו) "his—the lame man's—seat and supports ") ; *ʿAboda Z.*, II, 6 הפת והיין שלהם.

3. Indeclinable : *Pesaḥ.*, VIII, 5 (בישני שלה, בישמיי שלו) ; *Beṣa*, II, 8 ; *ʿEduy.*, III, 12 (ברחים שלהם) ; especially foreign words : *Kelim*, XIII, 7 (האונקלי שלה = $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\dot{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$) ; XVI, 7 (קמרון שלה "arched lid "—$\kappa\alpha\mu\dot{\alpha}\rho\alpha$[2]) ; XVIII, 2 (מובני שלה—$\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\dot{\eta}$) ; *Uḳsin*, I, 2 (הפיטמא שלהן) ; *Mekilta*, fol. 26 b, 28 b, 32 a, 42 a (איקונין שלו—$\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\dot{\omega}\nu$) ; 44 a (פלטרין שלו—$\pi\alpha\lambda\dot{\alpha}\tau\iota\upsilon\nu$[3]).

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[1] Note its occurrence in the N. Palestinian documents 1 Kings xix. 21 and xxi. 13 ; cf. Burney's *Notes on Kings*, p. 209.

[2] Cf., however, Jastrow, s. v.

[3] So Levy and Kohut. Jastrow derives it from $\pi\rho\alpha\iota\tau\dot{\omega}\rho\iota\upsilon\nu$, with the change of ρ into ל.

(*b*) On grounds of style :

1. With nouns used in a secondary, derived, or figurative sense : *Šebī'ith*, II, 10 התמרות שלהם (of the palm-like flower of the gourd ; cf. Bertinoro, ad loc.) ; *Šabb.*, I, 10 התחתון ישלה "its lower part" (תחתונה might have been taken in a different sense) ; VI, 8 קב שלו "his artificial foot" (not *ḳab* "a measure ") ; so *Kelim*, XI, 7 ; *Yebam.*, VIII, 4 הבצים שלו (*testes*, so *Kelim*, XIX, 8) ; *'Ab. Z.*, II, 3 הקרע שלו "its opening "; *Hullin*, III, 2 ; *Sifra*, fol. 48 c החוט שלה (viz. of the שדרה " the spinal cord ") ; האם שלה (the *matrix*, so *Bekor.*, IV, 4) ; *Kelim*, XII, 4 ענלה שלה ("the stand of a chest") ; XVI, 3 לרחב שלהם (of the sides of a basket) ; *Ohol.*, XI, 8 והפרח שלה (" the calyx " of a candlestick) ; *Uḳṣin*, I, 2 הלבוש שלה (" the vesture " of an ear of corn) ; so perhaps הסיב שלו (cf. Maimonides, ad loc.) ; *Sifra*, fol. 75 a האמה שלו (*membrum*).

2. Emphatic : *Terum.*, X, 12 אפילו החלמון שלה " even its yoke "; *Kelim*, VII, 2 הצדרין שלו, and below הרחב שלו (viz. of דכון " stand," mentioned at the beginning of the section) ; XIII, 6 חותם שלה and חפין שלה (in antithetical cases) ; so perhaps *Mekilta*, fol. 28 b ; *Sifra*, fol. 19 c (שהנשיא שלו).

Cf. the following similar constructions in BH. : Gen. xxiii n מערת המכפלה אשר לו, xli. 43 ; Exod. xxxviii. 30 ; Lev. ix. 8 ענל החטאת אשר לו (emphatic ; cf. v. 15) ; xvi. 6, 11 ; Judges iii. 20 (עלית המקרה אשר לו) ; 1 Sam. xvii. 40 (ירו) ; 1 Kings xv. 20 (החילים אשר לו) ; so || 2 Chron. xvi. 4 ; 1 Kings xxii. 31 || 2 Chron. xviii. 30 ; 2 Kings xvi. 13. Further, 1 Sam. xx. 40 (הנער אשר לו), xxv. 7 ; 2 Sam. xiv. 31 ; 1 Kings i. 33, iv. 2 ; Ruth ii. 21 (הנערים) ; (הקציר אשר לי, אשר לי) ; Lam. i. 10 (בקהל לך) ; Ezek. xliii. 14 והזיק לה (?) [1].

So also in late Phoenician (Punic) : אמא ישלי, הולך ישלי, and בני שלי ; cf. Schröder, § 69 ; Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 120.

Vulgar Arabic also uses *betâ'* for the possessive suffix, but without apparent cause ; cf. Spitta, l. c.

In the Assuan Papyri are found, apparently without any emphasis at all, such instances as בראי = בראי = ברלי = ברהלי ; ברתי = ביתא זילך = ביתך ; cf. Cowley's *Introd.*, pp. 9, 17.

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[1] Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 281 Q, β, Oxford Lexicon, s. v. אשר

Enough has now been said in the foregoing pages to
enable us to answer with a certain degree of confidence
the questions with which we set out at the beginning of
this inquiry. Our survey of some of the chief features
of MH. grammar has revealed the fact that as far as strict
grammar is concerned, MH. is *absolutely independent* of
Aramaic; that it is identical in the main with BH., and
where it differs from the latter the genesis of the differ-
ences can generally be traced back to an older stage of the
language, out of which the new forms have developed in
a *natural* and *methodical* manner. We have met with
a considerable number of forms and constructions which
are quite unknown in Aramaic. Some of these are found
in BH. in isolated cases, and in others it is possible at least
to trace their connexion with BH. prototypes; but, what is
most important, nearly all of them bear the stamp of
colloquial usage and of *popular development*, while, on the
other hand, not a single trace has been discovered of that
artificiality with which the MH. idiom has been commonly
credited. In fact, the colloquial and popular character of
MH. grammar is so strongly pronounced that it helps us
in many cases to distinguish in BH. colloquial or dialectal
forms and phrases from the literary and polite ones, a fact
which, if elaborated with proper care and discrimination,
may have an important bearing upon many problems in
Biblical criticism.

Many grammatical phenomena, especially in the realm
of syntax, which had been hitherto regarded as peculiar to
Aramaic, and the occurrence of which in MH. and also in
BH. had been attributed to Aramaic influence, have been
shown to be common to all or several of the Semitic
dialects in a later phase of their existence, and therefore
as indigenous in Hebrew as in any of its sister languages.

No doubt Aramaic did exercise a profound and far-
reaching influence upon MH., but this influence was
confined to the vocabulary, and hardly extended to the
grammar at all except indirectly, in so far as the altered

vocabulary and phraseology tended also to modify in some measure the grammatical construction of the language.

The answer, therefore, which grammar has to offer to the question whether MH. was a natural, living, and popular dialect developed gradually and systematically out of old Hebrew, or merely an artificial and mechanical scholastic jargon which masqueraded as a kind of Hebrew but was really a bad Aramaic in disguise, is decidedly and unequivocally in favour of the former alternative, and this answer must be taken to settle the question once and for all. The presence of so many Aramaic words and phrases in MH. can as little affect its genuineness as, for example, the preponderance of the Latin element in the English dictionary can affect the genuine Teutonic character of the English language, or, let it be said, as little as the presence in Aramaic itself of so many Hebrew and other foreign words and phrases can affect the genuine and originally Aramean character of the language of Syria and Mesopotamia. Nay, on a closer examination the MH. vocabulary itself will be found to support strongly the verdict of the grammar. Without entering for the present upon this very desirable examination, it may be stated here that the MH. vocabulary consists of two main divisions, each of which has to be subdivided again into three smaller groups, viz. :—

I. Words common to MH. and BH.

1. Words used in MH. in the same connotation and in the same form as in BH.

2. Words used in MH. in the same connotation but in slightly altered form, often approaching or similar to Aramaic usage.

3. Words used in MH. in a different connotation, often agreeing with Aramaic usage.

II. Words found in MH. but not in BH.

1. Words peculiar to MH., not found in Aramaic, or only as MH. loan-words, but often found in other Semitic languages.

2. Words common to MH. and to Aramaic, either as originally common Semitic or North Semitic words, or as loan-words in both dialects from foreign languages, notably Assyrian, Iranian, and the classical languages, or as mutual loan-words in MH. and Aramaic.

3. Words borrowed by MH. from Aramaic.

It will be seen that Aramaic influence comes in only in group II. 3 and, to some extent, in groups I. 2, 3, while group I. 1, and especially group II. 1, a considerable proportion of which consists of words connected with the arts and crafts and other occupations of everyday life, can only be reasonably accounted for by the assumption that Hebrew continued to be a living medium of speech up to, and including, the MH. period.   Group II. 2 includes a large number of words in which priority may be claimed by either dialect, but in the case of words connected with the religious and ethical aspects of life the presumption will generally have to be in favour of MH.   It cannot be repeated too often that the vocabulary of the Old Testament contains but a part, and possibly only a small part, of the stock of words possessed by the Hebrew language.   It is, therefore, unreasonable to assign to Aramaic all those words in MH. which are not found in BH.[1]   As a matter of fact the much-talked-of Aramaic influence upon post-exilic BH. was comparatively insignificant even in the sphere of vocabulary[2], and much more insignificant in the sphere of grammar.   Many of the so-called grammatical Aramaisms in the Old Testament are nothing but colloquial or dialectal, but none the less genuine Hebraic, forms which generally turn up again as the normal types in MH., as we have often had occasion to point out in the preceding pages.   For both in respect of grammar as well as in respect of

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[1] As is done by S. Mannes in his dissertation *Über d. Einfluss d. Aram. auf den Wortschatz d. Mišnah* (Berlin, 1897).   In spite of all his partiality for Aramaic, he has only succeeded in collecting 176 instances of Aramaic words under the letters א—ט.

[2] Cf. Kautzsch, *Aramaismen im AT.*, p. 102 f.

vocabulary, the Hebrew Scriptures offer us but a frag-
mentary and incomplete presentation of what the living
language actually was at various periods of its existence,
a presentation, however, which can often be supplemented
and completed by MH.

RSb